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The World of Prostitution *in* Late Imperial Austria

Nancy M. Wingfield

THE WORLD OF PROSTITUTION IN LATE IMPERIAL AUSTRIA

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NANCY M. WINGFIELD

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Acknowledgments

This book has had a very long—elephantine, even—gestation. It began totally accidentally one cold January morning in 2002 at the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv in Vienna. I opened up the box of documents that I had ordered the previous day expecting to find material on reaction to the Badeni language ordinances in Moravia. Imagine my surprise when I discovered files on prostitution and trafficking in late imperial Austria. The ever-prescient Scott Spector, who was working alongside me, only just stopped me from returning the box. He rightly pointed out that there was no way I was getting the anti-Badeni material until the next day at the earliest, so I might as well read what I had. And so I did. By the time the documents I had actually ordered arrived late the following day, I was hooked on the topic of prostitution, and I have been researching and writing about it ever since. Of course, I still had to finish my monograph, *Flag Wars and Stone Saints: How the Bohemian Lands Became Czech*, which was published in 2007, and a few other projects.

The author of any book that involves as much archival research as this one did incurs many debts. In my case, they are far too numerous to list, but I will try. Maureen Healy, Rebecca Johnson, Lisa Kirschenbaum, Mark Lewis, Tamara Scheer, and Keely Stauter-Halsted (my in-house editor and partner in crime) have read the entire manuscript, some chapters more than once. Paulina Bren, who is among the best narrative writers I know; Peter M. Judson, Jill Massino, and Cynthia Paces also read sections of the manuscript. I thank all of them profusely for their useful comments and suggestions. My doctoral student, Journey Steward, and former graduate student Kate Densford, who is now completing her dissertation at the George Washington University, as well as friends and colleagues Laurence Cole, Cate Giustino, Maura Hametz, Catherine Horel, Borut Klabjan, Rudolf Kučera, Tamara Scheer, and Rok Stergar, drew my attention to fascinating archival and secondary sources. Peter Becker, Benita Blessing, Tomáš Cvrček, John Deak, Jeremy King, Mark Lewis, Erwin A. Schmidl, Scott Spector, and Andriy Zayarnyuk patiently answered a variety of questions about the Habsburg bureaucracy, constitution, economy, geography, legal system, and policing over the years. I am very grateful to Marius Weigel for providing me a plethora of archival material. Finally, thanks to all of the rest of you who have listened to me talk about prostitution and sex trafficking, repeatedly, and sometimes for years. You know who you are.

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I am also grateful to Robert Faber, formerly senior commissioning editor in history at Oxford University Press, for his enthusiasm for my project. Cathryn Steele, Assistant Commissioning Editor for Academic History at the press, deftly and patiently supervised the publication. This included answering questions. Lots of questions. It was a pleasure to work with copy editor Camilla Rockwood. Finally, I thank Mario Brandl for producing the book's maps, and Sophia Varcados, Graphic Design Manager at Northern Illinois University, for help with some of the book's images.

Some of the material that appears in Chapter Six was previously published in my article, "Destination: Alexandria, Buenos Aires, Constantinople; 'White-Slavers' in Late Imperial Austria," in *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 20/2 (May 2011): 291–311. Copyright © 2011 by the University of Texas Press. All rights reserved. I appreciate permission to use it.

My husband, a non-academic, may be unaware that it does not take most people more than a decade to produce a book. It is to him that I dedicate this one.

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Abbreviations

AKAK	*Archiv für Kriminal-Anthropologie und Kriminalistik*
AHMP	Archiv hlavního města Prahy
Allg	Allgemeine Reihe
AMD	Archiv města Děčín
AMKV	Archiv města KarlovyVary
AMO	Archiv města Ostravy
AOK	*Armeeoberkommando*
AST	Archivio di Stato di Trieste
AVA	Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv
A-Z	*Arbeiter-Zeitung*
DAChO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Chernivetskoi oblasti
DALO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv L'vivs'koi oblasti
DNZ	*Die Neue Zeitung*
DP	Direzione di Polizia
IKZ	*Illustrierte Kronen Zeitung*
k.k.	*kaiserlich und königlich*
KA	Kriegsarchiv
LfS	Landesgericht für Strafsachen
LL	Luogotenenza del Litorale
LPDW	Landespolizeidirektion Wien, Archiv
MP	Mädchenhandel, Prostitution
MdI	Ministerium des Innern
NA	Národní archiv
NFP	*Neue Freie Presse*
NÖLA	Niederösterreichisches Landesarchiv
ÖGBG	Österreichische Gesellschaft zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten
ÖStA	Österreichisches Staatsarchiv
PM	Prostitution und Mädchenhandel
PT	*Prager Tagblatt*
PŘMO	Policejní ředitelství Moravská Ostrava
PÚ	Policejní úřad
SOkAČB	Státní okresní archiv České Budějovice
SOkAD	Státní okresní archiv Děčín
SOkAKV	Státní okresní archiv Karlovy Vary
SokAL	Státní okresní archiv Liberec
SOkAKH	Státní okresní archiv Kutná Hora
SOkAO	Státní okresní archiv Olomouc
VÚA	Vojenský ústřední archiv
WStLA	Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv
ZAO	Zemský archiv v Opavě
ZVSO	Zemská vláda slezská Opava

Note on Place Names

Despite a plethora of laws and imperial ordinances beginning in the eighteenth century, there was no uniform policy concerning language use for place names until the end of the Habsburg Monarchy. The regulation of names developed piecemeal through court rulings, imperial and crownland ordinances, municipal ordinances, and some new legislation. Place names were by and large regulated differently in Galicia, which privileged the Polish language. In the cases of smaller towns, where imperial documents often employ the Polish term, so, too, do I. In the few cases that the documents use only an Italian name, I employ that. Elsewhere, for the sake of consistency, unless the town or city has a standard English name, for example, Prague, Trieste, or Vienna, I use the German-language version, which was most often used in imperial documents for the period of the Monarchy. The alternate versions appear in the table on the next page. In the epilogue, I use the successor states' official place names.

Table I.1. Place Names

German	Croatian	Czech	Italian	Polish	Romanian	Ruthenian	Slovene
Agram	Zagreb						
Aussig		Ústí nad Labem					
Bodenbach		Podmokly					
Bozen			Bolzano				
Brixen			Bressanone				
Brünn		Brno					
Budweis		České Budějovice					
Czernowitz					Cernăuți	Chernivtsi	
Eger		Cheb					
Fischern		Rybáře					
Friedek		Frýdek					
Gawlow				Gawłów			
Görz			Gorizia				Gorica
Gottschee							Kočevje
Idria			Idria				Idrija
Iglau		Jihlava					
Jägerndorf		Krnov					
Jungbunzlau		Mladá Boleslav					
Kolomea				Kołomyja		Kolomyia	
Kuttenberg		Kutná Hora					
Laibach							Ljubljana
Leitmeritz		Litoměřice					
Lemberg				Lwów		L'viv	
Mährisch Ostrau		Ostrava		Ostrawa			
Marburg							Maribor
Meran			Merano				
Olmütz		Olomouc					
Pola	Pula		Pola				Pulj
Premissel				Przemyśl			
Reichenberg		Liberec					
	Rovinj		Rovigno				
Stanislau				Stanisławów		Stanyslaviv*	
Tetschen		Děčín					
Teschen		Těšín		Cieszyn			
Theresienstadt		Terezín					
Trient			Trento				
Troppau		Opava					
	Zadar		Zara				

*Since 1962, Ivano-Frankivsk

Introduction

> I entered this brothel on my own initiative. For the time being I am not returning home. I wrote my parents that letter, although I know that I can leave prostitution whenever I want. I am going to visit my parents and stay a few days with them, but I will absolutely not leave the brothel because I'm completely happy here.[1]

Thus wrote twenty-one-year-old Olga Koprivec in 1912, emphatically rejecting police efforts to rescue her from a brothel in Agram, the capital of Croatia. Her father, retired railway guard Thomas Koprivec, had informed his local *Bezirkshauptmannschaft* (district prefecture) in rural, poverty-stricken Gottschee, Carniola, that Olga, who had joined the Cirkus Curcka in Laibach in 1908, was now being held captive in an Agram brothel. The older Koprivec wanted his daughter freed. On 5 April 1912, the Viennese *Polizeidirektion* (Police Directorate), concerned that Olga Koprivec had been a victim of *Mädchenhandel* (literally, "girl trafficking," although the alleged victims were not all young; it was known as "white slave" trafficking in English), requested that Agram police contact the young woman and offer her help in leaving the brothel should she require it. The Viennese police archive contains a photograph of Olga, apparently taken in Agram (Illustration I.1). It shows a dark-haired, modestly dressed young woman, with a serious expression. She is sitting in front of a white-washed building, with what appears to be an open book on her lap. The Agram police who interviewed Olga sent the record of their conversation, which included the above remarks, to the Viennese Police Directorate. While we do not know what Olga Koprivec did at the circus, why she left it, how she traveled some 140 kilometers from Laibach to Agram, or when she arrived there, this explanation appears to have satisfied the Viennese police, perhaps even the senior Koprivec, because there is nothing more of the incident in the Viennese police archive.

The episode explicitly addresses many of the topics investigated in this book, including female agency and experience, contemporary fears about sexual coercion and the forced movement of girls and women, and police surveillance. This book makes an argument about female agency; it is about prostitutes and their world. I analyze prostitution at three different, but interlinked levels: subjectivity, society,

[1] Landespolizeidirektion Wien, Archiv (hereafter LPDW), Prostitution und Mädchenhandel (hereafter PM), Box 1912, Protokoll, 10 April 1912. Except where cited in English-language works by other authors, all translations are my own.

Illustration I.1. Olga Koprivec (LPDW/Vienna).

and state.[2] Rather than treating prostitutes solely as victims or problems to be solved, in contrast to much of the historical literature, I have sought to find the historical subjects behind fin-de-siècle constructions of prostitutes, to restore agency to the women who participated in various kinds of commercial sex, illuminate their everyday experiences, and place these women, some of whom made the reasoned economic decision to sell their bodies, in a larger social context.[3] Following Timothy J. Gilfoyle, my focus on the prostitute experience expands our knowledge of their daily lives and their environment by helping construct a picture of that world that incorporates analysis from the bottom up.[4] At the same time,

[2] On the relationship of sexual subjectivities to apparatuses of discipline and power, see Scott Spector, "After the History of Sexuality? Periodicities, Subjectivities, Ethics" and "Whose Sexuality? Subjectivity, Surveillance, Emancipation," in *After the History of Sexuality: German Genealogies with and Beyond Foucault*, Scott Spector, Helmut Puff, and Dagmar Herzog, eds. (New York: Berghahn, 2012), 1–14; 91–3.

[3] On the prostitute as historical subject, see Victoria Harris, "Introduction: Rescuing the Fallen Woman," *Selling Sex in the Reich: Prostitutes in German Society, 1914–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010): 9–38, including her excellent discussion of Laura Lee Downs' critique of Joan W. Scott and deconstruction, 26–7.

[4] Timothy J. Gilfoyle, "Archeologists in the Brothel: 'Sin City,' Historical Archaeology and Prostitution," *Historical Archaeology* 39/1 (2005): 133.

I am sensitive to the differing ways in which the state and its representatives, as well as those with expert knowledge, treated prostitutes, seeking to control and reform them, over time and place. I investigate the interaction of these women with the police and other supervisory agents, as well as with other inhabitants of their world, rather than focusing on the state-constructed apparatus of surveillance from the top down, or on the work of Viennese sexual theorists like Sigmund Freud or Otto Weininger, who argued for moral and sexual purity.[5]

Many Austrian prostitutes came from artisan and working-class, often impoverished backgrounds. They faced a complicated array of constraints that shaped the environment in which they made decisions, including lack of other economic opportunities, of education, of legal equality with men as well as legal dependence on their fathers and husbands. Despite entrenched beliefs about female sexuality and the "fallen" woman, prostitution, clandestine or regulated, was a viable choice for some women of limited economic circumstances when faced with the alternatives: low-paid, often dangerous employment in a factory, in a night café or tavern, or as a servant. While parents occasionally encouraged, even forced, their daughters into prostitution, some girls simply joined their mothers walking the street. Those women engaging in commercial sex who hailed from higher echelons of society were rare enough to merit comment when they came to public attention. Because they are not part of many of the discussions surrounding prostitution at the fin de siècle, courtesans, the women kept by aristocrats, high-ranking military officers, and well-to-do men in Cracow, Prague, Vienna, and elsewhere are not part of this study.

LOCATING AND CONTROLLING "THE PROSTITUTE"

The founding premise of the modern regulation of prostitution, which dates from the Napoleonic era in France, was that men had illicit sex with prostitutes, and that targeting these women would help to limit the spread of venereal disease, then increasingly endemic in Europe. Misogynistic at its heart, regulation encompassed housing prostitutes in brothels, registering them with the police, restricting their movements, inspecting them for venereal disease, and forcibly hospitalizing them when they were found to be infected.[6] Prostitutes' regular medical examinations were meant to staunch the spread of venereal disease, and save bourgeois society from this modern "plague," while permitting men to meet their sexual "needs." Under the influence of Alexandre Parent-Duchâtelet, the Parisian physician and

[5] In *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905), Sigmund Freud, whose work on psychoanalysis in the early twentieth century shared important roots with sexual science, reframed central questions of the discipline; Otto Weininger's relevant work is *Sex and Character* (1903). See Britta McEwen's discussion of their work in "Sex as Science," in *Sexual Knowledge: Feeling, Fact and Social Reform in Vienna, 1900–1934* (New York: Berghahn, 2012), 9–13. See also Sander Gilman, *Freud, Race, and Gender* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); and David Luft, *Eros and Inwardness in Vienna: Weininger, Musil, Doderer* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

[6] Peter Baldwin, *Contagion and the State in Europe, 1830–1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 358.

theoretician of regulation, the countries of continental Europe, including Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and Sweden, adopted varying forms of toleration.

Since the publication of Alain Corbin's seminal study, *Les filles de noce: Misère sexuelle et prostitution aux 19e et 20e siècles* in 1978, which traces the development of the French regulatory system for sexual vice, the historiography on prostitution has expanded greatly.[7] A number of studies of prostitution in Europe, focusing on the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, have analyzed how regulatory policy was embodied in law, how it was implemented, and how it operated.[8] The work of Michel Foucault, especially his analyses of physicians' study of patients rather than disease and police control over prostitutes' bodies, has influenced Corbin's study and many others that followed it.[9] In his 1975 book on prisons, which appeared in English two years later as *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault provides a model for the analysis of disciplinary power that can be profitably employed to demonstrate how systems of regulation created prostitutes by registering women, predominantly working class, with police.[10] Indeed, Foucault's model offers a theoretical underpinning for Judith R. Walkowitz and Daniel J. Walkowitz's earlier arguments about creating prostitutes by registering women who exchanged sexual favors for money or room and board—even some working-class understandings of marriage—in "'We Are Not Beasts of the Field': Prostitution and the Poor in Plymouth and Southampton under the Contagious Diseases Act."[11] It is now commonplace in studies of prostitutes to emphasize the regime of state surveillance inherent in the

[7] Alain Corbin, *Les filles de noce: Misère sexuelle et prostitution aux 19e et 20e siècles* (Paris: Aubier Montaigne, 1978), in English, *Women for Hire: Prostitution and Sexuality in France after 1850*, trans. by Alan Sheridan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990).

[8] In addition to Corbin, studies include Charles Bernheimer, *Figures of Ill Repute: Representing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century France* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1989); Laurie Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters: Prostitutes and their Regulation in Imperial Russia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Laura Engelstein, *The Keys to Happiness: Sex and the Search for Modernity in Fin-de-Siècle Russia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992); Mary Gibson, *Prostitution and the State in Italy, 1860–1915*, second edn. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999); Jill Harsin, *Policing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); Maria Luddy, *Prostitution and Irish Society, 1800–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Jann Matlock, *Scenes of Seduction: Prostitution, Hysteria, and Reading Difference in Nineteenth-Century France* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); and Judith R. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982). See also Anna Lundberg, "Passing the 'Black Judgement': Swedish Social Policy on Venereal Disease in the Early Twentieth Century," in *Sex, Sin and Suffering: Venereal Disease and European Society since 1870*, Roger Davidson and Lesley A. Hall, eds. (New York: Routledge, 2001), 29–43.

[9] The work of Michel Foucault that has most influenced the study of prostitution is: *Naissance de la clinique: une archéologie du regard médical* (Paris: Presses Universitaires. de France, 1963), in English, *The Birth of the Clinic*, trans. by A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Random House, Vintage, 1979); *Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), in English, *Discipline and Punish*, trans. by Alan Sheridan (New York: Pantheon, 1977); and *La Volonté de Savoir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1976), in English: *The History of Sexuality*, Vol. I, *An Introduction*, trans. by Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage, 1980).

[10] See Gibson's comment, *Prostitution and the State in Italy*, 8.

[11] Judith R. Walkowitz and Daniel J. Walkowitz, "'We Are Not Beasts of the Field': Prostitution and the Poor in Plymouth and Southampton under the Contagious Diseases Act," *Feminist Studies* 1/3–4, Special Double Issue: Women's History (Winter—Spring 1973): 73–106.

enclosure of these women in brothels from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Historians of gender have emphasized that the state's attempt to control prostitutes' bodies through regulation, but not those of their male clients, reflects both gender inequality and women's civil inferiority.[12] Many of these studies analyze the opinions—and influence—of contemporary bourgeois reformers, criminologists, medical specialists, including venereologists and sexologists, and politicians, about the functioning of the very systems that they helped construct, uphold, modify, and oppose, but say little about the women who were subordinated to these systems.

Tolerated prostitutes in imperial Austria were the subject of observation at several levels. Parallel to the close surveillance of tolerated prostitutes by an increasingly professional police force was the medical surveillance of these women. Physicians, overwhelmingly male, and whose own field was rapidly professionalizing, asserted their specialized knowledge of these marginalized women's bodies in an attempt to claim a growing role in the supervision of prostitutes. As Mary Spongberg has observed, at least some physicians considered the developments in microbiology and pathology during the last decades of the late nineteenth century to offer ways to improve surveillance of prostitutes' diseased bodies through continued examinations.[13] The court system also played a role in controlling prostitutes: it prosecuted the women, but not their male clients, who violated the laws prohibiting prostitution, which remained illegal until the end of the Monarchy. These regulatory bodies were increasingly joined in their scrutiny of "fallen" women by the bourgeois reformers, many of them women, who were active participants in national and international anti-prostitution and anti-trafficking organizations. Through the First World War, reformers remained vigilant in their efforts to "save" young women from entering the trade or, less often and less successfully, to "reform" the women who already were already part of it, often by obtaining for them one badly paid position or another.

Expanding upon the work of those who have studied the regulation of prostitution elsewhere in Europe, I argue that the category "prostitute" was not self-evident, but contingent. My analysis of tolerated and clandestine prostitution underscores the artificiality of the division between the two by showing that women moved between the two categories as well as in and out of the trade during their working lives. Surveillance of prostitutes was incomplete in late imperial Austria, as elsewhere. This deficiency was a result of both the large number of "independent," tolerated prostitutes who, although registered, lived outside brothels in private quarters known to the vice squad, and of the far larger number of clandestine, or unregistered, prostitutes who were difficult to identify, observe, and control. Clandestine prostitutes, who did not fit into one particular category, have left fewer traces than tolerated prostitutes. These women were a varied group who for the most part

[12] See for example Engelstein, *The Keys to Happiness*, 74–5; and Julia Roos, *Weimar through the Lens of Gender: Prostitution Reform, Woman's Emancipation, and Germany Democracy, 1919–33* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 16.

[13] Mary Spongberg, *Feminizing Venereal Disease: The Body of the Prostitute in Nineteenth-Century Medical Discourse* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 101.

come to our attention through the mediation of others including scandalized neighbors, bourgeois reformers, judges, physicians, city fathers, the tabloid journalists who brought them to the public eye, raising both community health and morals concerns, and the vice police who arrested them.

Mirroring what Roger Davidson and Lesley A. Hall have termed a "subculture of concealment among the prostitute community," some regulated women were able to evade police surveillance temporarily, or leave it altogether, skipping town when they became infected with venereal disease in order to avoid compulsory hospitalization, which curtailed their earnings for the duration of their illness.[14] Their behavior highlights the flawed system of medical-police surveillance on which Habsburg bourgeois society depended for protection of public morals and public hygiene. As Charles Bernheimer pointed out in his study of regulation in France, *Figures of Ill Repute: Representing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century France*, incomplete surveillance reflected increasingly lax police supervision, or in the case of the Monarchy, also the lack of vice police.[15] The incomplete surveillance in Austria reflected both an ongoing lack of vice police and medical resources, including insufficient—or no—dedicated hospital space in municipalities large and small for treating prostitutes with venereal disease through the end of the Monarchy.

The number of clandestine prostitutes, especially in the urban areas of Austria, remains a matter of conjecture. The greater public's interest in the clandestine and independent, tolerated prostitutes in their midst focused above all on the assumed ill effect of these women and their pimps on local morals. Clandestine prostitutes were a topic of ever more preoccupation among specialists and reformers because they suspected that these women were carriers of particularly dangerous forms of venereal disease. The numbers of women arrested for clandestine prostitution—and their treatment—varied over time and place, in part owing to the enthusiasm of the vice police for forcing them into the regulatory system. Just who was a clandestine prostitute remains a question. The police arrest and registration of a woman, who one time or another engaged in commercial sex to supplement her meager wages, branded her a prostitute, even if she did not consider herself one, while another woman who did the same, but escaped police notice, was not. The women who were never accused of, or never caught, accepting remuneration for commercial sex remain outside the historic record of prostitution.

REGULATION IN AUSTRIA

My study encompasses the world of prostitution in late imperial Austria, the lands represented in the Austrian Reichsrat (parliament), roughly, territory west of the Leitha River, the historic border between Austria and Hungary, but which also included the provinces of Bukovina and Galicia on the eastern reaches of the

[14] "Introduction," in Davidson and Hall, *Sex, Sin and Suffering*, 6.

[15] Bernheimer, *Figures of Ill Repute*, 163, mentions increasingly lax police surveillance of brothels in late nineteenth-century France.

Habsburg Monarchy (see Table I.1). Following the *Ausgleich*, or Compromise, of 1867, which created the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy, the joint institutions shared between these two states were the multinational Habsburg military, the Foreign Ministry, and the Treasury. Although the relevant Interior Ministry and Police Directorates worked closely on some issues related to prostitution, above all trafficking, Austria and Hungary each had its own system of regulation, the former centralized in Vienna and the latter in Budapest.[16]

There have been a number of useful local and regional studies of prostitution in Habsburg Austria, focusing primarily on the imperial capital and larger provincial cities, among them Cracow, Laibach, Mährisch Ostrau, Salzburg, Trieste, and Vienna.[17] My analysis of prostitution expands upon these studies by adding smaller municipalities, garrisons and ports like Theresienstadt and Pola, as well as spa towns and the countryside, to provide a more complete and nuanced picture of the sex trade across late imperial Austria. I delineate the complicated web of interrelationships between the imperial and provincial centers and the geographic peripheries that constituted the world of Austrian commercial sex, addressing the reasons for and implications of the patchwork local system of regulation, which reflected far-reaching communal autonomy dating from the Stadion or "March" Constitution of 1849 and the autonomy of local police officials.

My study offers a fresh look at the fluid movement of people across regions. It reveals a Monarchy-wide integrated sexual economy, one seemingly untouched by the nationalist sentiment so prevalent elsewhere in contemporary society. In a state being held together and simultaneously pulled apart by various institutions and groups, prostitution—multi-confessional, multi-generational, and multi-lingual—constituted a centripetal force in Austria-Hungary. Similar to the

[16] On prostitution in turn-of-the-century Budapest, see Judit Forrai's brief article, "Prostitution at the Turn of the Century in Budapest," in *Civilization, Sexuality and Social Life in Historical Context: The Hidden Face of Urban Life: International Conference*, Budapest, 1995, Judit Forrai, ed. (Budapest: Új-Aranyhíd KFT, 1996), 155–66. I thank Anita Kurimay for the following list of recent Hungarian-language publications about prostitution in Budapest during the Habsburg era: Tünde Császtvay, "Nuditások szent borzalma—Fringiakötés a prostitúció ellen a 19. század utolsó harmadában és a századfordulón," *Kortárs* 56/11 (2012): 42–51; Tünde Császtvay, "Bordélyvilág a békebeli Budapesten: A prostitúció társadalomtörténete a 19. századvégen, a 20. Századelőn," *Rubicon* 22/1 (2011): 42–55; and Anka László, "A budapesti prostitúció és szexpiac története a boldog békeidőkben," *Valóság* 47/2 (2004): 82–105.

[17] Useful studies include: Michał Baczkowski, "Prostytucja w Krakowie na przełomie XIX i XX w," *Studia Historyczne* 43/4 (2000): 593–607; Branka Grošelj, "Prostitucija v Ljubljani v prvih treh desetletjih 20. stoletja," *Kronika* 54/3 (2006): 451–64; Karin J. Jušek, *Auf der Suche nach der Verlorenen: Die Prostitutionsdebatten im Wien in der Jahrhundertwende* (Vienna: Löcker Verlag, 1994); Radim Kopáč and Josef Schwarz, *Nevěstince a nevěstky: obrázky z erotického života Pražanů* (Prague: Paseka, 2013); Milena Lenderová, *Chytila patrola . . . aneb prostituce za Rakouska i republiky* (Prague: Karolinum, 2002); Milan Myška, *Kněžky Venušiny aneb z historie prostituce v průmyslovém velkoměstě* (Ostrava: Repronis, 2006); Erik Holmes Schneider, *Zois in Nighttown: Prostitution and Syphilis in the Trieste of James Joyce and Italo Svevo (1880–1920)* (Trieste: Comunicarte Edizioni, 2012); Keely Stauter-Halsted, *The Devil's Chain: Prostitution and Social Control in Partitioned Poland* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015); and Susan Zimmerman, "'Making a Living from Disgrace': The Politics of Prostitution, Female Poverty and Urban Gender Codes in Budapest and Vienna, 1860–1920," in *The City in Central Europe: Culture and Society from 1800 to the Present*, Malcolm Gee, Tim Kirk, and Jill Steward, eds. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).

aristocracy, bureaucracy, military, and others, prostitution can also be considered a kind of pillar of the Monarchy.[18]

Regulation occurred at the local level, so there was variation within provinces as well as between them. There was also an urban-rural difference of opinion on the efficacy of regulating prostitution. This book shows how local and regional officials, who often operated under differing rules, cooperated with one another and police abroad to keep track of prostitutes' whereabouts, to ascertain their criminal and familial background, as well as whether they had previously been infected with venereal disease. In its multiplicity of practices, regulation of prostitution in Austria was similar to that in Wilhelmine Germany, where, as Julia Roos has pointed out in *Weimar through the Lens of Gender: Prostitution Reform, Woman's Emancipation, and Germany Democracy, 1919–33*, the diverse regulatory systems were a legacy of pre-unification decentralization as well as local police independence in establishing rules and procedures for supervising prostitutes.[19]

The Habsburg dynasty has long been recognized for its piety, which affected the history of regulated prostitution in Austria. By the mid-nineteenth century, Viennese physicians agreed that parallel measures against prostitution and syphilis were necessary to prevent the spread of the latter. They disagreed, however, on the means to achieve this aim. Many of them rejected brothel prostitution, believing it privileged vice, as Karin J. Jušek has explained in her analysis of regulation in Vienna, *Auf der Suche nach der Verlorenen: Die Prostitutionsdebatten im Wien in der Jahrhundertwende*.[20] Both the upper echelons of imperial government and the Roman Catholic Church long opposed the very idea of regulating prostitution. Regulation was formally introduced in Vienna, the imperial capital, only in 1873. This was later than elsewhere in Europe and even some of the Monarchy's other cities.[21] Catholic moral organizations continued to demand the abolition of tolerated prostitution while promoting chastity and religiosity up through the First World War.[22] At the same time, a number of the Monarchy's larger cities—Lemberg, Prague, Trieste, Vienna, and Budapest, the capital of Hungary—had paradoxically become increasingly associated with the debauchery of the sexually saturated fin de siècle.

This book opens with the widely publicized November 1906 trial of the infamous Viennese madam Regine Riehl for embezzlement, fraud, pandering, and other crimes connected with the operation of her tolerated brothel. The Riehl trial brought class, female criminality, police corruption and surveillance,

[18] See Oscar Jászi's discussion of centrifugal and centripetal forces in *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1929).

[19] On the Wilhelmine German regulatory system, see Roos, *Weimar through the Lens of Gender*, 16–25.

[20] On the history of regulation in Vienna, see "Die Geschichte der Reglementierung," in Jušek, *Auf der Suche nach der Verlorenen*, 101–14.

[21] The regulation of prostitution was introduced in France, the country most closely associated with modern regulatory practices (the so-called "French system"), dating from 1804, when Napoleon ordered the registration and bi-weekly medical inspection of prostitutes.

[22] Jušek, "Hinter den Kulissen: die katholische Kirche," in *Auf der Suche nach der Verlorenen*, 246–59.

sexual perversion, pandering and trafficking, venereal disease, and other issues associated with Vienna's demimonde to the attention of the Monarchy's wider public.[23] The public outcry over her treatment of the prostitutes in her employ forced the Viennese Police Directorate and the Lower Austrian government to undertake a rethinking of prostitution regulations for the imperial capital. The events leading up to the trial, the trial itself, and its repercussions kept the issue of prostitution and related issues like trafficking and even venereal disease as a topic of discussion, producing piecemeal revision of the ultimately contradictory policy of regulation.

The long-term effect of the Riehl trial was the reform of Viennese, and, by extension, Austrian regulatory policy more generally, but not its abolition nor standardization. In the Austrian scheme of regulation, prostitution was illegal, but the police were not obliged to apply criminal law to those prostitutes who registered with them. There were wide-ranging police-medical-political debates over reform of Vienna's prostitution policy in the aftermath of the Riehl trial. Precisely how—or even, if—these women were to be regulated, and which restrictions would be placed on them, was a local decision whose implementation sometimes placed local police, regional administrators, city or provincial governments, and residents in conflict with one another.

Even as Viennese—and other Austrian—administrative, medical, and police experts had become increasingly aware of the limitations of regulation in preventing the spread of venereal disease, they continued to advocate regulating prostitution. These specialists concluded that brothels offered the most effective surveillance, providing the best possibility for police control of prostitutes in order to stem the spread of disease and protect public morals, while still offering men the sexual outlet they allegedly needed to maintain a healthy masculinity. They were familiar with, and most employed, the rhetoric of tolerated brothels as the form of prostitution that best protected public health and public morals. Independent of legal controls, police and other local, district, and provincial officials interpreted the relevant sections of the Austrian Criminal Code while being obliged as a consequence of the Riehl trial to protect tolerated prostitutes from exploitation at the hands of brothel keepers and others who provided prostitutes' lodging. While Viennese police and politics influenced provincial police practices and regulation documents, reflecting connections between the center and the periphery, the varying practices across provincial Austria also revealed the influence of the neighboring German, Italian, and Swiss systems in addressing the issue.

Vienna's revised prostitution regulations, which came into force only in 1911, did not represent a fundamental change in the operation of capital's brothels, nor in tolerated prostitutes' relationships with the police and medical examinations required of them. In contrast to Great Britain, where the regulation had been

[23] Literacy rates varied dramatically across the Monarchy. Based on "recognized" languages, the census did not include Hebrew or Yiddish, and thus rendered illiterate those Jews, above all in Galicia, who neither read nor spoke "western" languages. Czech and German speakers, whose illiteracy rates in 1900 were 3.71 percent and 5.78 percent respectively, lived primarily in the Bohemian Lands (Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia), Upper and Lower Austria, Styria, and Vorarlberg-Tyrol. See *Gazeta Polska*, 22 November 1903, 2.

abolished in 1886, or Italy and other European countries that instituted some version of "neo-regulation," in which prostitutes were given more agency and physicians more responsibility in terms of medical examinations at the expense of the vice police, there was no such development in Habsburg Austria. In fact, there was very little political discussion, demonstrating the persistence of the state's treatment of prostitution as a "necessary evil" and prostitutes as women needing supervision.[24] Also unlike Italy, where the so-called Cavour Regulation of February 1860 was extended to unified Italy by 1870, creating a centralized, nationwide practice, the regulation of prostitution in Austria, as in France, Germany, and elsewhere, remained both outside the law and decentralized until the Monarchy's dissolution in 1918.[25]

Analysis of the wider world of prostitution in late imperial Austria—including smaller and medium-sized municipalities—expands our knowledge of the sex trade across the multiethnic empire, which covered a large swath of central Europe. The Austrian response to regulated prostitution reveals the contradictions in contemporary attitudes toward female sexuality. While some well-known Viennese specialists were obsessed with sex, imperial society as a whole remained conservative but not repressive. In contrast to a number of Western European states, even to Russia, the abolitionist movement was weak and had little political traction. Moreover, the medical establishment made few demands for increased control over the examinations required of regulated prostitutes, and there were few calls for submission to these examinations to be voluntary. The latter revealed continued conservative attitudes toward commercial sex, and distrust of the women who engaged in it.

PANICS OVER PROSTITUTION

While criminal anthropologists had established prostitutes as part of the criminal class in the late nineteenth century, and some prostitutes clearly profited from their clients by robbing them, often working together with their pimps, these women were also part of the Monarchy's larger working-class economy.[26] Police interviews with the working-class neighbors of former and practicing prostitutes show that

[24] Bernstein makes this point about Russia in *Sonia's Daughters*, 1.

[25] On Germany, in addition to Roos, see Edward Ross Dickinson, *Sex, Freedom, and Power in Imperial Germany, 1880–1914* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 21; and on Italy, Bruno P.F. Wanrooij, "'The Thorns of Love': Sexuality, Syphilis and Social Control in Modern Italy," in *Sex, Sin and Suffering*, 138. In "Syphilis and Prostitution: A Regulatory Couplet in Nineteenth-Century France," Andrew Aisenberg explains the origin of French regulatory power in the Revolutionary Municipalities Law of 1790, *Sex, Sin and Suffering*, 24; while Baldwin describes French police powers as deriving from "a smorgasbord of ordinances, decrees and local laws dealing with aspects of public order and health," *Contagion and the State in Europe*, 365. Regulation remained in place in France until 1960, and Italy until 1958; see for example Gibson, *Prostitution and the State in Italy* and Harsin, *Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century Paris*.

[26] See Cesare Lombroso and Guglielmo Ferrero, "Born Prostitute," *Criminal Woman, the Prostitute, and the Normal Woman*, Chapt. 27 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 213–21 (originally published in Italian: *La donna delinquente: la prostituta e la donna normale*, 1893); and Lombroso's

while their neighbors might complain about prostitutes' behavior, they seldom moralized about former prostitutes who had taken other jobs or married out of the trade. Some who saved the money they made engaging in sexual commerce went on to other careers in that milieu, including as successful brothel keepers, thus profiting from the sexual commerce in other women's bodies. Those who married men who were themselves part of the larger world of prostitution—brothel keepers, pimps, or traffickers—remained in that world, even after they no longer sold their bodies. I discuss the pimps and brothel keepers as well as the panderers who helped move women from one town to another, and one brothel to another; and even the traffickers who moved allegedly "innocent" girls overseas to non-European, often understood to be less civilized, sometimes colonial, locales against their wills to engage in commercial sex.

There were conflicting, often polar, evaluations of the girls and women who played so central a role in two moral panics—trafficking and venereal disease—that intersected with turn-of-the-century commercial sex: the abused, helpless, innocent victim on the one hand, or the debauched, degraded, and sinful female on the other. Fears about venereal disease, especially syphilis, and trafficking in girls became intertwined with attitudes toward prostitution over the course of the nineteenth century. Venereal disease followed trafficking into the Austrian public sphere as a topic of acceptable public discussion with the foundation of the *Gesellschaft zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten* (Society for Combating Venereal Diseases) in 1903.[27] Both were the subject of international conferences around the turn of the century, reflecting the popular, intensely felt beliefs about issues that members of the expanding bourgeoisie believed threatened contemporary social order in a time of change.[28] Trafficking, with its clear racist overtones, was part of contemporary discourse on racial degeneration.[29]

I situate late imperial Austria in the global panic over trafficking at the turn of the century and later, thereby highlighting the issue of the movement of girls and women abroad. I analyze the specter of trafficking that had been so publicly raised at the Riehl trial and so captured the public imagination. Indeed, few forms of socially deviant behavior received as much attention at the fin de siècle, when

student, Pauline Tarnowsky, *Étude anthropométrique sur les prostituées et les voleuses* (Publication du Progrés Médical) (Paris: E. Lecrosnier et Babé, 1889).

[27] See Brigitte Fuchs' overview, "Zur Geschichte und Statistik der venerischen Erkrankungen in den österreichischen Ländern der Habsburgermonarchie, 1815–1914," in *Übergänge und Schnittmengen: Arbeit, Migration, und Wissenschaftsgeschichte in Diskussion*, Annemarie Steidl, Thomas Buchner, Werner Lausecker, Alexander Pinwinkler, Sigrid Wadauer, and Hermann Zeitlhofer, eds. (Vienna: Böhlau, 2008), 429–55.

[28] See for example Chas Critcher, "Widening the Focus: Moral Panics as Moral Regulation," *The British Journal of Criminology* 49/1, Moral Panics—36 Years On (January 2009): 17–34.

[29] On the racist and nationalist aspects of the white slavery campaigns, see Donna J. Guy's brief discussion in *White Slavery and Mothers Alive and Dead: The Troubled Meeting of Sex, Gender, Public Health, and Progress in Latin America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2000), 23–32. On "Empire and Race in the Construction of White Slavery," see Jo Doezema, *Sex Slaves and Discourse Masters: The Construction of Trafficking* (London: Zed Books, 2010): 70–4. For a history of the term "white slave" see Mara L. Keire, "The Vice Trust: A Reinterpretation of the White Slavery Scare in the United States, 1907–1917," *Journal of Social History* 35/1 (Fall 2001): 7–8.

discourse on the topic mirrored concerns about the need for social control over poor, often immigrant women in an increasingly modernizing, urbanizing, capitalist, and transnational society. Austria and Hungary were both signatories to the 1904 International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, which was to come into force in July 1905. Police activities connected with trafficking in Austria were centralized in the Viennese Police Directorate with its establishment as the *Zentralstelle zur Überwachung des Mädchenhandels* (Central Office for Monitoring the Trafficking in Girls), created by the Austrian Ministry of the Interior in June 1905, to facilitate cross-Austrian police correspondence on concerns related to trafficking. Although crusaders throughout Europe decried the dangers traffickers posed, close reading of the archival materials shows that the rumored movement of "innocent" women and girls against their will could not always be substantiated. Trafficking, which like prostitution also drew the wrath of bourgeois reformers, involved not only innocent women and girls who were duped and taken abroad against their will. Those trafficked included women who made an economic calculation to move, some of whom had already been registered as prostitutes.

In many parts of Austria, both organized prostitution and trafficking were popularly associated with Jews. Brothels were often located in Jewish quarters of cities, as in Czernowitz, Prague, and Trieste; many of Austria-Hungary's brothel keepers were Jewish, and Jews were believed to supply white, unwilling girls to serve as prostitutes in brothels worldwide. Alison Rose has argued that the connection between Jews and prostitution in Vienna was "notorious at every level of society." Certainly, as she asserts, gender and sexuality were central to Viennese anti-Semitism.[30] Following the Lemberg "white slaving" trial of 1892, trafficking became an important element of Viennese anti-Semitism, with anti-Semites propagating the idea of Jews as traffickers. My book demonstrates that the popular association of Jews and sexual deviance was not limited to Vienna, where anti-Semitism was closely associated with Mayor Karl Lueger. The preponderance of Jews in the trade in girls and women created another moral panic, this one among Western European bourgeois Jewish reformers. So strong was this association of Jews with sexual deviance that the stereotype of the predatory Jew persisted into the 1930s, when the Nazis and their sympathizers revitalized it to use in new and more racialized ways.

The movement of women and girls—primarily poor, often ill-educated, even illiterate—was an element of growing industrialization, modernization, and urbanization, as some contemporaries recognized. They most often came from rural Bukovina and Galicia, both of which had large Jewish populations and were the provinces from which the largest number of overseas immigrants came after 1900, but also from other rural areas, coerced or voluntarily, some in response to marriage proposals and others in search of employment. Industrialization and urbanization were closely associated with regional migration. Greater mobility of the population at large also facilitated the increased movement of women with or without their consent.

[30] Alison Rose, *Jewish Women in Fin de Siècle Vienna* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008), 79.

Concerns about trafficking in girls reflected multiple, sometimes conflicting popular and political issues that were an integral part of contemporary discourse on prostitution itself. The expanding public sphere, the proliferation of the "penny press," the growth of secular activist organizations, growing transnationalism, and the increasingly vocal presence of women in the public sphere all provided greater possibilities for addressing this social issue. At the same time, intellectual and scientific developments as well as changing political conventions offered social commentators a new vocabulary to articulate their concerns about the problem of trafficking.

The "saved" woman narrative, that is, the prostitute who left the trade to return to an "upright," if destitute, life, appealed to bourgeois reformers because it confirmed their assumptions and gave meaning to their efforts. These reformers revealed their bourgeois biases, as Judith Walkowitz has argued, when they were confronted with an "unrepentant prostitute."[31] Indeed, the Monarchy's reform organizations concentrated more on saving potential victims from traffickers and preventing women from becoming prostitutes than on rehabilitating those who had already taken up the trade, because the latter often proved intractable and uninterested in leaving their chosen profession.

The European-wide panic over venereal disease focused on prostitutes as dangerous vectors of contagion, in part because infected females were still considered to be more contagious than males. The contemporary debate over the efficacy of tolerated prostitution stemmed in part from the growing belief in some quarters that housing prostitutes in brothels and subjecting them to regular examinations did little to prevent the spread of venereal disease. Around the turn of the century, however, because of increasing concerns about the rise in venereal disease rate among the rank and file, the Habsburg military joined civilian officials in their efforts to control clandestine prostitution and limit venereal disease. A number of studies have interrogated the relationship between garrison towns and naval ports on the one hand, and prostitution, especially clandestine prostitution, on the other, stressing military concerns about venereal disease.[32] They have, however, rarely offered a sustained analysis of military and civilian cooperation to control sites of illicit sexual commerce during wartime.[33] Following the outbreak of the First World War in August 1914, the Habsburg *Armeeoberkommando* (Army High Command, *AOK*) aggressively expanded its influence throughout the civilian realm. The state increasingly intervened into life on the home front: not only provisions and waged work, more and more undertaken by women, but also how residents dressed, what they ate, what constituted their leisure, and their sexual interactions.

In wartime Austria, the military and the state sought to expand control over women's bodies under conditions of total war. Surveillance of prostitutes was expanded at the same time there were fewer vice police to observe the larger

[31] Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, 7.

[32] See especially Philippa Levine's excellent study, *Prostitution, Race and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

[33] See "Colonial Soldiers, White Women, and the First World War," which focuses on morals, medicine, politics, and race in Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics*, 145–73; and Roos' brief discussion in *Weimar through the Lens of Gender*, 31–5.

number of women alone on public streets, some of whom were among those newly turning to prostitution. Military and civilian forces collaborated, amid fears fed by a spike in venereal disease rates as well as gendered concerns about some of these women's loyalty to the Habsburg Monarchy. The military envisioned the application of standardized rules regulating prostitution to combat venereal disease.[34] Military-state inability to control prostitution, and thus stem the spread of venereal disease, was among the many indicators of societal and state breakdown in Austria under the exigencies of total war. The military-civilian surveillance of prostitutes and other suspect working-class women continued after the dissolution of Austria-Hungary and into the interwar era. The regulation of prostitution, which remained in place in much of Habsburg Central Europe during the first postwar years, represents one of the lesser-analyzed continuities between the Monarchy and its successor states.

The disintegration of Austria-Hungary did not signify wholesale change in the regulation of prostitution in Habsburg Central Europe. The civilian-military partnership forged during the First World War to scrutinize carefully women who engaged in commercial sex and to eradicate clandestine prostitution continued in some places. During wartime, descriptions of prostitutes had begun to include designation not only of their sexual difference (from "normal" women), but also their racial/ethnic difference, helping to distance them from bourgeois society in more than one way. Some of the "nation"-states newly formed from the Monarchy now treated prostitutes from the minority ethnic groups as both social and national outliers, even expelling them. Both the medical and police gaze on these women had lingering implications for interwar Habsburg Central Europe, and even into the Second World War. Another interwar continuity with Habsburg practices was the classification of prostitutes and others as *asoziale* (antisocial), and thus the "Enemy," in the politically charged and virulently nationalist Central Europe of the late 1930s. This represents a continuity with imperial Austria, growing out of prewar and wartime designations of prostitutes as *arbeitsscheu* (work shy), a necessary evil, and Other. In Nazi-dominated Central Europe, when those unruly women came under police surveillance, voluntarily or not, terms that had been used in late imperial Austria and Germany like "work shy" could be employed not only to separate them from the rest of society and label them antisocial, but also possibly to send them into the German camp system. The treatment of women who engaged in venal sex may have changed over the first half of the twentieth-century in Habsburg Central Europe, but the thread of popular assumptions about their difference and the dangers they posed to greater society was never broken.

THE SOURCES

A cautionary note about sources: As other historians have written, getting to the voice of the prostitute can be difficult. In her path-breaking study, *Prostitution and*

[34] Zemský archiv v Opavě (hereafter ZAO), Sign. 899, Box 186, 24 October 1916.

Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State, Judith R. Walkowitz has remarked that "this is not a full and authentic representation of prostitutes' social experience, as they might have interpreted it themselves."[35] While this observation informs my study, I have found official government, medical, and police records helpful in trying to construct this experience. Local, regional, and national archives across Habsburg Central Europe contain attorney, physician, police, and reformer interviews with prostitutes, and even the occasional letter from a prostitute or other kinds of testimony, including legal filings. Although journalists, physicians, the police, and others, overwhelmingly male, often mediate the prostitute's voice, it is possible to tease out information about this world by careful reading not only of the police documents but also a variety of other archival materials, including court, hospital, and reform-organization documents, town and city records, letters from concerned citizens, and exposés in the ever-expanding boulevard press. We know what a few of these women looked like because of their photographs in police archives and because of the growing use of photographs in prostitutes' health books of that period, some of which survive. Even prostitutes' choice of dress in these photographs can tell us something about them. This contrasts with the situation Maria Luddy describes in *Prostitution and Irish Society 1800–1940*: There are "no interviews or personal reminiscences of women who worked as prostitutes" in Ireland between 1800 and 1940.[36] We hear from Olga Koprivec, an example that challenges the notion of lack of access to tolerated prostitutes' voices that predominates in much of the historiography on regulated prostitution. We do not, however, hear the "whole story."

The archival records are useful for reconstructing tolerated prostitutes' environment, although we do not know why some records were saved and some were not. Sometimes, we do not know what was not saved. Government and other regulatory sources are as important for what they omit—what the authorities did not consider important enough to record—as what they include, reflecting their class, cultural, and gender biases, and must thus be read and interpreted with care. The conflation of the categories "Prostitution" and "Mädchenhandel" by the Viennese police and the imperial government is apparent in the archival record. These two categories have been collapsed into one collection in the Ministry of Interior files at the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv and the archive of the Landespolizeidirektion Wien. In local archives, the relevant material is sometimes subsumed under the general category of "morality."[37]

The voices of the pimps, panderers, and traffickers can also be found in the archives. Records from the last decades of the Habsburg Monarchy include police interviews with accused pimps and traffickers, as well as brothel keepers and their employees. Reflecting modernizing police practices, there are also photographs and fingerprints of alleged pimps and traffickers. Because brothel keepers responded to, and sometimes lodged, complaints to protect their economic interests, there is a record of their voices. Male journalists' "first-person" accounts of prostitution often

[35] Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, 8.
[36] Luddy, *Prostitution and Irish Society*, 9.
[37] See both the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv and the Landespolizeidirektion Wien Archiv, Vienna.

reveal as much about their own attitudes toward commercial sex as they do about the women they are describing.

Finally, following Daniel M. Vyleta's observation in *Crime, Jews and News: Vienna 1895–1914*, I approach my sources as narratives, that is, "stories that order and construct knowledge," in this case, about prostitutes.[38] I attempt to decode all of these sources to find more evidence about these women and their world. Close reading of archival and other material shows that some prostitutes in late imperial Austria took control over their own fates, at least as much as other working-class women, in the decade before the First World War.

[38] Daniel M. Vyleta, *Crime, Jews and News: Vienna 1895–1914* (New York: Berghahn, 2007), 10.

1

The Riehl Trial

> Should a reader nowadays at a newspaper gaze,
> He will soon throw it down with great distaste; the content is horrifying.
> Across the columns wide
> A river of muck flows from this pigsty
> No detail is spared the public eye.
>
> "Mrs. Riehl's Trade," Anonymous[1]

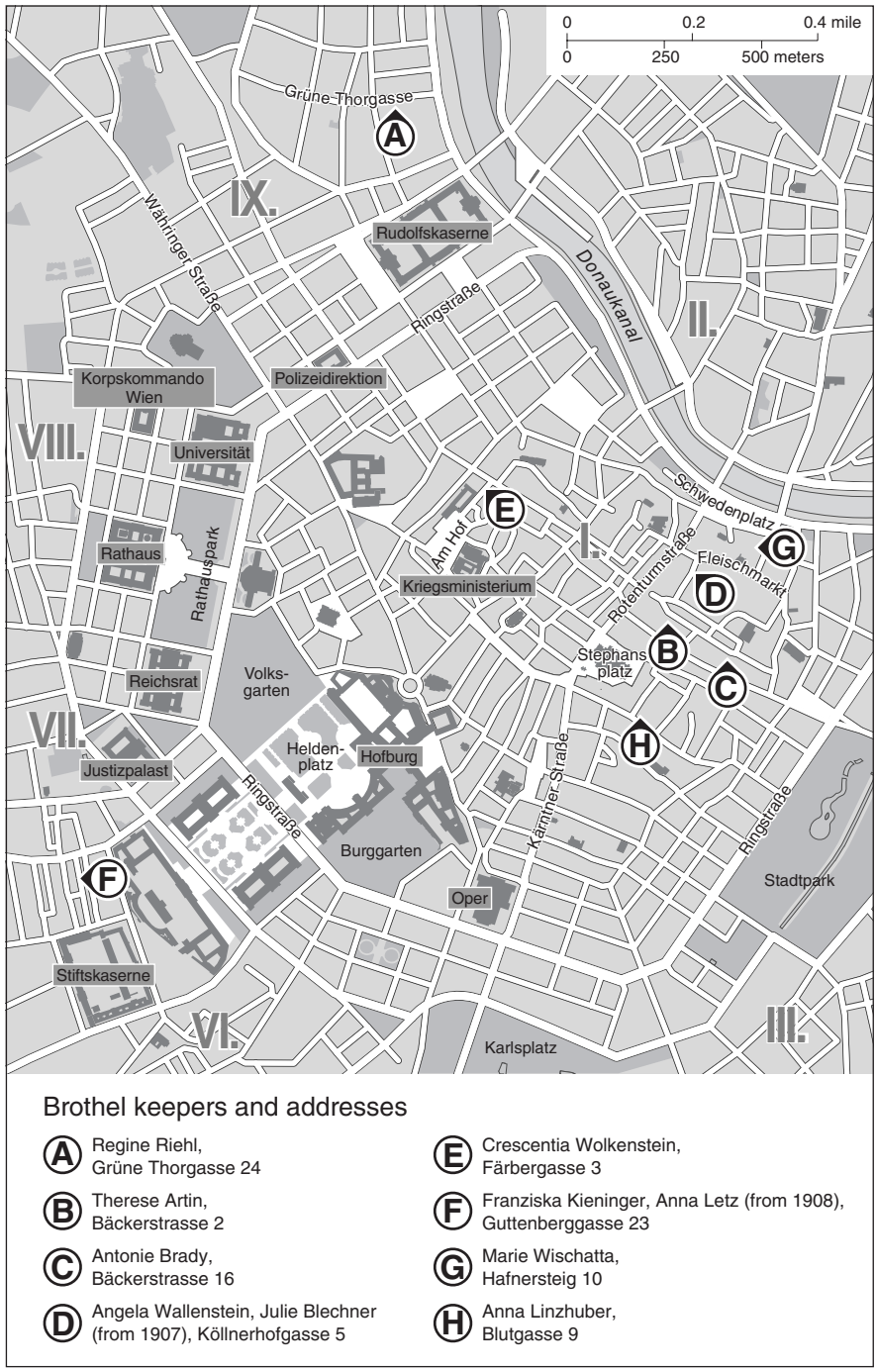
The celebrated criminal trial of forty-six-year-old Regine Riehl, a brothel keeper of Jewish origin, opened in Vienna on 2 November 1906. Riehl faced charges of embezzlement, fraud, pandering, and other crimes associated with the operation of her establishments between 1897 and 1906. The proceedings generated a great deal of publicity because Riehl's alleged gross maltreatment of the tolerated prostitutes in her employ occurred in a bourgeois neighborhood in the Ninth District close to the center of the imperial capital, less than a kilometer from the police headquarters in Alsergrund (see Map 1). The Riehl trial "shook the public conscience of Austria," provoking widespread outrage. Not only residents of the imperial capital, but also people throughout Cisleithanian Austria and beyond avidly followed the five days' proceedings. They sparked the greatest ever debate in the Monarchy over prostitution, which was "tolerated" rather than legal.

The Riehl affair drew public attention to prostitution and produced pressure in the capital and elsewhere in Austria to reform abuse in the system of regulation.[2] The proceedings exposed corruption in the heart of the police bureaucracy, and ideological contradictions in the system of state-tolerated prostitution, which existed ostensibly to protect society against then-rampant venereal disease and to provide an outlet—a "necessary evil"—in order to meet men's "physical needs."[3] They forced the government to address both the specific matters raised in this case—dependence and exploitation—and broader questions connected with regulation in the Monarchy.

[1] Wenn man in diesen Tagen sich Ein Zeitungsblatt beschaute, Warf man es bald mit Ekel weg, Weil uns vorm Inhalt graute. In aller Breite wälzte sich Der Schmutzstrom durch die Spalten, Dem Publikum blieb kein Detail Des Schweinstalls vorenthalten. "Frau Riehls Gewerbe," *Kikeriki!* 46/89 (8 November 1906): 1.

[2] *Germania*, 6 November 1906, 2.

[3] Police corruption was an ongoing theme in discussion of prostitution beginning in the nineteenth century; for example, Mary Gibson, *Prostitution and the State in Italy, 1860–1915*, second edn. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999), 117–18; and Maria Luddy, *Prostitution and Irish Society, 1800–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 28–9.



Brothel keepers and addresses

- A Regine Riehl, Grüne Thorgasse 24
- B Therese Artin, Bäckerstrasse 2
- C Antonie Brady, Bäckerstrasse 16
- D Angela Wallenstein, Julie Blechner (from 1907), Köllnerhofgasse 5
- E Crescentia Wolkenstein, Färbergasse 3
- F Franziska Kieninger, Anna Letz (from 1908), Guttenberggasse 23
- G Marie Wischatta, Hafnersteig 10
- H Anna Linzhuber, Blutgasse 9

Map 1. Brothels in the center of Vienna at the time of the Riehl trial.

Finally this trial remained a point of departure for subsequent debates about the utility of regulating prostitution for the duration of the Monarchy, influencing change in the numerous rules that governed the regulation of prostitution throughout Austria.

The trial, which brought regulation to the attention of the public as never before, was important because it raised a variety of issues associated with the demimonde: female criminality, sexual perversion, sex trafficking, and venereal disease. Some of the language about the trial reflected popular panic over trafficking in girls and the apparent failure of the vice police to protect public health and morals in the capital, and by extension, the rest of the Monarchy.[4] These were topics of discussion—panics, even—elsewhere in Europe as well, owing in part to the rhetoric of recently founded international organizations that focused on preventing trafficking and limiting the spread of venereal disease, and to the rhetoric of bourgeois reform organizations seeking to "save" girls at risk and rescue "fallen" women.[5] The trial attracted attention, both moralizing and voyeuristic, because so much of the testimony reinforced contemporary tropes and assumptions about prostitution, especially tales of fallen women and their redemption, then popular in the press and on the stage, as well as "white slave" narratives and the anonymous, immoral modern society in which trafficking allegedly flourished. It also provided the opportunity for public discussion of a series of interconnected issues, among them fears of modernity, preoccupation with the morals of the lower classes, and ethnic stereotyping. The trial thus had important implications for the future of regulation in Vienna and across the Empire.

Varied, sometimes conflicting voices discussed the trial, reflecting an increasingly noisy public sphere. They included the relatively few, but strident abolitionists in Austria, who opposed toleration of prostitution. The trial was also analyzed as part of contemporary discourses on sexual identity and concerns about public health. Some experts evaluated prostitution in relation to degeneracy, while others simply described prostitutes as living "senseless and wasteful lives." Particular to Christian Social Mayor Karl Lueger's Vienna was the effect of the national dynamics in the Monarchy on the imperial capital and popular anti-Semitism, which played a role in analysis of the trial and subsequent discussion of regulation. As a result of the trial, somewhat more sympathetic depictions of prostitutes appeared in the newspapers. They were more often represented as pitiful rather than dangerous. The trial helped cement the image of prostitute as victim, while providing a female—Jewish—villain in the world of prostitution: the brothel madam.

[4] The sexually transmitted infections on which the Habsburg government, military, police, and medical establishment focused were gonorrhea, syphilis, and ulcus molle, also known as soft chancre or chancroid.

[5] See for example Nan H. Dreher, "The Virtuous and the Verminous: Turn-of-the-Century Moral Panics in London's Public Parks," *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 29/2 (Summer 1997): 246–67; Andrew Lees, "Deviant Sexuality and Other 'Sins': The Views of Protestant Conservatives in Imperial Germany," *German Studies Review* 23/3 (October 2000): 453–76; and Keely Stauter-Halsted, "Moral Panic and the Prostitute in Partitioned Poland: Middle-Class Respectability in Defense of the Modern Nation," *Slavic Review* 68/3 (Fall 2009): 557–81.

This chapter analyzes the reporting that brought the Riehl brothel to the attention of the public, the trial itself, and, the ways in which the press reported the episode, demonstrating how and why the affair forced an Austria-wide rethinking of regulating prostitution.[6] It begins with a brief depiction of how regulation functioned in Vienna.

REGULATING PROSTITUTION IN VIENNA

In the Austrian scheme of regulation, police rather than statutory criteria governed prostitution. Regulation, which came later to Vienna than other cities on the continent, or even elsewhere in the Monarchy, developed through a series of ad-hoc measures rather than by passing or changing existing laws as had been the case in Italy. A police decree from 1873 mandated issuing a *Gesundheitsbuch*, a health book, which contained a tolerated prostitute's personal information, sometimes including her brothel nickname, and in which police physicians recorded the dates and results of her regular examinations for venereal disease. After twelve years of provisional measures, the contradictions in existing regulations in Vienna and elsewhere were formalized in a 24 May 1885 appendix to the so-called *Vagabundengesetz*, or vagabond law. Paragraph 5 of the law placed the punishment of women who used their body for "lewd trade" in the hands of the *Sicherheitsbehörden* (security authorities).[7]

The disease that medical experts involved in the contemporary prostitution debates considered the most dangerous aspect of venal sex was syphilis,[8] followed by gonorrhea, rather than all of the diseases subsumed under the contemporary term "sexually transmitted infections." Conceived primarily as a defense of clients' health, regulation reflected both the societal assumption that prostitutes were the source of syphilis and concern about containing it. Syphilis and gonorrhea, long indistinguishable, easily spread as well as difficult and expensive to "cure," were a source of concern to governments worldwide during this era.[9]

Women voluntarily placed themselves under police control for a number of reasons, including the desire to avoid being arrested for lewd conduct. Their

[6] Some of the material discussed in this chapter has appeared in different form in Nancy M. Wingfield, "Echoes of the Riehl Trial in Fin-de-Siècle Cisleithania," *Austrian History Yearbook* 38 (2007): 36–47.

[7] For the text of the law, see Alexander Löffler, *Das Strafrecht*, vol. 1: Die materiellen Strafgesetze (Mainz, 1918), paragraph 5, 317–18. The text can also be found in "Sammlung der für die Bekämpfung des Mädchenhandels in Betracht kommenden österreichischen Gesetze, Verordnungen und Erlässe" (Vienna: n.p., 1909), 12.

[8] Britta McEwen, *Sexual Knowledge: Feeling, Fact and Social Reform in Vienna, 1900–1934* (New York: Berghahn: 2012), 14.

[9] See Peter Baldwin, "Syphilis between prostitution and promiscuity," in Baldwin, *Contagion and the State in Europe, 1830–1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 355–523; the introduction and case studies in in *Sex, Sin and Suffering: Venereal Disease and European Society since 1870*, Roger Davidson and Lesley A. Hall, eds. (New York: Routledge, 2001); and Mary Spongberg, *Feminizing Venereal Disease: The Body of the Prostitute in Nineteenth-Century Medical Discourse* (New York: New York University Press, 1997).

treatment in Vienna was delineated in *Instruction für die polizeiliche Überwachung der Prostitution* (Instruction for the Police Supervision of Prostitution), which dated from 17 January 1900. Any woman registering as a prostitute left her documents with the police. After she provided a medical report confirming she was not infected with venereal disease, her name was inscribed on a red registration card. Together with a form containing her personal information, the registration card was placed in the city's prostitution register. The prostitute then received her health book. Any woman who wanted to unregister as a prostitute in Vienna returned the health book in exchange for her documents.[10]

Advocates of tolerated brothels claimed they served to keep the military, and other men who sought prostitutes' company, healthy, protected prostitutes from pimps, panderers, and "perverted" sex, as well as kept the entire trade from bourgeois view by preventing prostitutes from soliciting in public. Registered prostitutes were permitted to reside in "tolerated," closed brothels or independently in police-approved, private residences, an option many women who registered in Vienna chose because it offered the opportunity for greater freedom of movement. The vice police (*Sittenpolizei*), who enforced rules meant to keep these women out of the public eye, had a great deal of discretion in Austrian regulatory practice. Because some of the very police officers who were meant to enforce the system had been accused of helping Riehl evade regulation, the trial underscored several complications inherent in the police regulation of illegal behavior as well.

EMIL BADER'S INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM

Emil Bader, a muckraking journalist for the populist, mass-circulation, liberal-oriented *Illustrirtes Wiener Extrablatt*, brought Regine Riehl and the conditions at her tolerated brothel at Grüne Thorgasse 24 to the attention of the reading public in a series of articles starting on 24 June 1906.[11] Bader's reporting on the ill-treatment of prostitutes at the Riehl brothel—which he asserted was not even the worst in the city—exemplifies the aggressive investigative journalism in turn-of-the-century Vienna that turned the trial into big news.[12]

Bader began investigating the Riehl establishment at the behest of Viennese resident Ernst Pollak, who claimed he had first gone to the brothel in 1903 after hearing that among its residents were young women from bourgeois families. This was incorrect. Following his first visit, Pollak made a complaint to the police about

[10] Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (hereafter ÖStA), Ministerium des Innern (hereafter MdI), Allgemeine Reihe (hereafter Allg), Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv (hereafter AVA), Mädchenhandel, Prostitution (hereafter MP), Box 2122, "Instruction für die Evidenz der Prostituierten," Beilage 10.

[11] In late May, Vienna's social democratic daily, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (hereafter *A-Z*), briefly mentioned the fourteen-day jail sentence one Rudolf Michel received for transporting a woman—identified as his sister in some newspapers—to Riehl's establishment, *A-Z*, 29 May 1906; and *A-Z* (morning edn.), 1 July 1906, 7–8, referring to the earlier article.

[12] See Daniel M. Vyleta, *Crime, Jews and News: Vienna 1895–1914* (New York: Berghahn, 2007), 144, for the trial as paradigmatic of contemporary Viennese crime coverage.

the dismal situation of the prostitutes there, but they failed to respond. The specifics of Pollak's other visits to the brothel were not clear, but he claimed that each time he was there, Riehl's prostitutes had bewailed their plight at the hands of the brothel keeper. By 1906, he was engaged and did not want his name connected with the "matter," so he had gone to Bader with the information about the irregularities at the Riehl establishment. In fact, Pollak did not attend the trial, but had his statement read in court.[13]

Bader's investigation resulted in an exposé that ran for about a week under the provocative title, "Aus den Geheimnissen eines tolerierten Hauses" (the secrets of a tolerated house). Among the first day's sub-headlines were "Lieber Spring ich vom vierten Stock hinunter" (better that I jump from the fourth floor) and "Weiße Sklavinnen" (white slaves).[14] Bader accused Riehl of exploiting the prostitutes she employed, and Vienna's vice police of tolerating the irregularities in her brothel, including the failure to register her employee-residents with the police in timely fashion and encouraging the women to provide incorrect information on their registration forms. Riehl's prostitute victims included eighteen-year-old "Erna," formerly "upright" and "hard-working," who upon finding herself pregnant soon after leaving the brothel, returned to her mother's tiny flat with her baby son, whom she supported by working as a seamstress, and "Liesel," whose father had "sold" her to Riehl.[15]

Soon after the *Illustrirtes Wiener Extrablatt* began publishing this series, Vienna's social democratic daily, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, followed by other local and some provincial newspapers, took up Bader's crusade against conditions at the Riehl establishment, further inflaming public opinion. One provincial paper described Riehl's paid "agents," who included unnamed young men, luring naïve young girls to the brothel with the promise of "rewarding" salaries as seamstresses.[16] The young women were then allegedly locked up and through hunger and beatings finally resigned themselves to their fate as prostitutes. Another provincial paper provided examples of local brothels with conditions like those alleged in the Riehl case.

Much of the newspaper coverage condemned the treatment of the "weak-willed" young women. Material evidence for the accusations was, however, ambiguous. Certainly at least some of Riehl's prostitutes believed the brothel keeper had limited their freedom of movement and deprived them of their earnings.[17] Twenty-six of

[13] "Der Prozeß Riehl und Konsorten in Wien," *Archiv für Kriminal-Anthropologie und Kriminalistik* (hereafter *AKAK*) 27/1–2 (May 1907): 50–1.

[14] *Illustrirtes Wiener Extrablatt*'s multi-issue series appeared on the inside pages of the paper from 24 through 28 June. "Weiße Sklavinnen" was also one of the headlines in *Illustrierte Kronen Zeitung* (hereafter IKZ), 3 November 1906, 2.

[15] On accusations of irregularities in registration by Riehl's prostitutes, see "Der Prozeß Riehl und Konsorten in Wien," *AKAK* 27/1–2 (May 1907): 7, 28, 47. Popular "professional" nicknames rotated at Riehl's: when one prostitute left, another newly arrived prostitute might adopt the name the previous woman had used.

[16] Seamstresses' meager salaries were among the reasons that some of them turned to exchanging sex for money.

[17] Vyleta, *Crime, Jews and News*, 144–5.

them testified to this effect. The testimony of other former Riehl employees, however, contradicted these assertions.

The Bader series caused a storm of public outcry against Riehl, eliciting numerous responses from members of the public. Among the letters to the editor was one from a former self-described "inmate" of Riehl's "barracks," where she had been known as "Vilma." Accusing the police of tolerating the scandalous activities that took place in the brothel, Vilma vividly recounted her maltreatment at Riehl's hands in the "house of hell on earth," including a thrashing she received after "falling to her knees and begging Riehl to permit her to write to her mother just one time." Riehl allegedly responded, "Poor creature. Be glad you are here." Vilma claimed to have finally escaped the brothel, dressed only in her nightgown, poor as a church mouse, "without a *Kreuzer* (a small coin) to her name."[18] The uproar over the exposé forced the Viennese police to act. Riehl had been arrested soon after the Bader series began, and her brothel closed the first week in July.[19]

THE TRIAL

The facts established in the Riehl affair are a matter of record. The trial itself was a complicated affair with ten defendants facing various charges. In addition, fifteen former prostitutes were demanding back wages from the brothel keeper. A large number of people, including former employees and residents of the bordello, had been interviewed about the case, and many of them, together with members of the police force, testified. The Riehl trial was closed to the public, but about sixty people attended the proceedings, most of them journalists, who were permitted by law to observe, and who assiduously reported them. Some of the attorneys interjected editorial comments during the witness statements, eliciting hilarity from those present, most often at the expense of the prostitutes, but also of Riehl.

After the prosecutor read the long list of accusations, Riehl testified, followed by the chief co-defendant, Antonie Pollak, her hunched sixty-eight-year-old servant. The latter was accused of luring young women, including those to whom she had rented beds (*Bettgeher*) in her own accommodations, to the brothel.[20] The third main defendant was plumber's helper Friedrich König. He allegedly threatened to

[18] *Illustrirtes Wiener Extrablatt*, 30 June 1906, 4. See police report on Bader's 24 June 1906 article, Landespolizeidirektion Wien, Archiv (hereafter LPDW), Prostitution u. Mädchenhandel (hereafter PM), 1906/2, k.k. Bezirks-Polizeikommisariat to k.k. Polizeidirektion Wien, 24 June 1906.

[19] *Illustrirtes Wiener Extrablatt*, 3 July 1907, 5 on the closure of the brothel; *A-Z*, July 8, 1906, 6 on Riehl's arrest. On reports in the provincial press, many of them very detailed, see for example "Die Geheimnisse des Kleidersalons," *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 8 July 1906, 9. Transcripts of the trial and related material in the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv (hereafter WStLA) Landesgericht für Strafsachen (hereafter LfS): A11, Vr 6372/1906, I. & II. Teil. The trial record was published as "Der Prozeß Riehl und Konsorten in Wien," in *AKAK* 27/1–2 (May 1907): 1–111. For discussion of the trial and related events from the perspective of Vienna's anti-Semitic press, see Vyleta, *Crime, Jews and News*, 144–50.

[20] According to Eve Blau, in the last years before the First World War, there were between 60,000 and 70,000 *Bettgeher* in the imperial capital, *The Architecture of Red Vienna, 1919–1934* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999), 77.

put his daughter, the above-mentioned Liesel, as she was known in the brothel and in some of the press (her given name was Marie), in a reformatory (*Besserungsanstalt*) and "used his fist" to force her to remain in Riehl's employ, where she had been since 1902, when she had wanted to return to an "upstanding" life.

The last defendants to appear were seven of the eight former brothel staff who had been charged with perjury. At Riehl's urging—she had promised them clothing, jewelry, and money—these young women originally parroted her version of events when magistrates questioned them in the summer of 1906 about conditions at the brothel. They later recanted their statements. Aged seventeen to thirty-three, seven had been prostitutes and the eighth a chambermaid at the brothel. Two of them now had "solid" jobs, as a seamstress and a laundress. The twenty-three-year-old prostitute Eva Madzia, known in the brothel as Steffi, failed to appear at the trial. She had "disappeared without a trace" after giving her deposition, but was later found to be making her living in a Silesian brothel.[21]

It came out during the trial that several individuals and organizations had earlier made complaints about the Riehl brothel, to no avail. In addition to nearby residents whose sleep had been disturbed, brothel guests, and representatives of the health department, they included members of the *Österreichische Liga zur Bekämpfung des Mädchenhandels* (Austrian League against the White Slave Trade, a voluntary reform organization founded in 1902; the Liga), which had branches throughout imperial Austria. Liga members concentrated on the physical and moral well-being of girls and young women, including rescuing them from panderers, "white slave" traffickers, and the like. A member had learned about the Riehl brothel in 1903 when she interviewed a prostitute who had formerly worked there, and helped her get a "decent" position.[22] Following complaints from Liga representatives, the police had allegedly threatened the former general secretary of the organization with its dissolution "for overstepping its boundaries" if members continued to raise the issue of Riehl's brothel. While nothing had come of the Liga's 1903 complaint, the woman who had been interviewed at the time testified at the trial, where she reiterated her previous accusations.

Although the brothel's bourgeois clients included physicians, attorneys, and civil servants (variously identified as "doctor," "goatee," "known," "Japanese"), most of whom paid up to five Gulden per visit, the numerous prostitutes and former prostitutes who testified at the Riehl trial came from poor Czech-, German-, Hungarian-, and Polish-speaking families.[23] (The crown replaced the Gulden in the 1892 currency reform at a rate of two crowns to the Gulden.) Some women described "imprisonment" in the house, hunger, and beatings with broomsticks and dog whips alternating with champagne orgies. Witnesses contrasted the spacious, comfortable reception area for the brothel's clientele with the small,

[21] *Neue Freie Presse* (hereafter *NFP*), 23 December 1906, 15.

[22] "Der Prozeß Riehl und Konsorten in Wien," *AKAK*, 33, 44. Emilie Nawratil ("Grete") got the position.

[23] *Právo lidu*, 4 November 1906, 4; at least one parent was illiterate. *Germania* described the parade of girls testifying against Riehl over a two-day period, 6 November 1906, 2.

unsanitary, locked rooms with barred windows on the third floor where girls slept two to a bed, occupying "less space than criminals in the Monarchy's prisons." In fact, their cramped quarters sometimes resulted in the prostitutes infecting one another with contagious diseases like scabies. One prostitute witness claimed that Riehl beat her for drinking leftover champagne, which was meant to be saved and resold to clients, while a second witness complained of being forced to drink champagne with clients. Only seldom did the prostitutes fight back against Riehl's bullying. Another witness asserted that when the brothel madam sought to push her out onto the street after she refused to kiss a client's hand and accede to his sexual desires, she grabbed a seltzer syphon and sprayed Riehl with it.[24] This was hardly the action of someone "resigned to her fate," as the Riehl prostitutes were described in many news reports.

The lack of personal freedom, the beatings, the withholding of earnings, and the censoring of their mail were among the reasons many prostitutes soon wanted to leave Riehl's employ, something she allegedly sought to prohibit. Among the few ways the women were able to leave the premises at all was to become ill enough to require hospitalization. Although Riehl complained that some of her prostitutes were "always in the hospital,"[25] she and Pollak were accused of seeking to prevent sick prostitutes from coming to the attention of the police physicians in the first place. The two had supposedly hidden ill prostitutes in the cellar, in the toilets, in the wardrobes, or even in boxes in the attic and the chicken coop during police physician visits to the brothel. They endeavored to do this because in addition to recording any injuries to the prostitutes and examining them for venereal disease, the physicians could send the women to the hospital, from which they might escape the brothel. Pollak and Riehl reputedly sought to prevent such an occurrence by ensuring that hospitalized prostitutes were released directly to them.[26] (Because hospitals were overcrowded, prostitutes were only hospitalized if they had venereal disease; otherwise, they were cared for in the brothels.) Moreover, several prostitutes accused Riehl of forcing them to continue to take clients although they were infected with venereal disease, an accusation that drew little public comment. Private physicians to whom Riehl and Pollak sometimes took prostitutes for treatment of illnesses other than venereal disease told Bader that, in retrospect, the behavior of the brothel keeper and her helper had been peculiar: They refused to leave prostitutes alone with them during examinations.[27]

On those rare occasions that Riehl did permit a prostitute to leave her employ, she reportedly demanded that the woman leave Vienna immediately. Indeed, Riehl's confidantes, allegedly including her brother, accompanied the woman to the railway station, bought her a train ticket, and placed her on the train. Although

[24] "Der Prozeß Riehl und Konsorten in Wien," *AKAK*: 86; *Bohemia*, 6 November 1906, 7; and *Prager Tagblatt* (hereafter *PT*), 4 November 1906, 10.

[25] "Der Prozeß Riehl und Konsorten in Wien," *AKAK*: 15.

[26] As a result, the governor's office requested further information so responsible hospital employees could be punished, WStLA, LfS: A11, Vr 6372/1906, II. Teil, to the Landesgericht in Strafsachen, 7 November 1906.

[27] *Illustrirtes Wiener Extrablatt*, 3 July 1906, 5.

tolerated prostitutes often moved from one brothel to another within a particular city, requiring those prostitutes who lacked right of residency to leave town when they left a particular brothel was standard practice in some of the Monarchy's smaller municipalities.

Riehl was the first witness. A stout, vigorous woman whose heavy face "bore traces of one-time beauty," she exuded confidence throughout her testimony, explaining that she had become a brothel madam by happenstance when her late husband suffered ill health. Under questioning from the skeptical prosecutor, Riehl claimed that she began renting out rooms in her large, well-appointed home, because she wanted to save money and show her husband she was a "good landlady." One lodger, a woman employed at the Carltheater in Leopoldstadt, had female visitors, and while Riehl and her husband were out of town one Easter, male visitors. When the defendant realized a profit was to be made from having male "visitors" to her home, she permitted it to be used for commercial sex. Riehl testified that she did not register the house as a brothel because she had not known it was necessary. Nor, she claimed, did she tell her husband about her undertaking, although he provided the 25,000 Gulden for one of the houses she had purchased for her business.[28] Despite three arrests and convictions for pandering in the mid-1890s, Riehl had been permitted to open a tolerated brothel late in that decade, underscoring the hypocrisy of contemporary prostitution regulations. Her business had been successful, so she had expanded her operation several times, eventually taking over the entire building on Grüne Thorgasse to house the fifteen to twenty prostitutes she employed.

In her testimony, Riehl claimed she treated her prostitutes well. She rejected out of hand, sometimes with raised voice, all of her former employees' allegations. Indeed, she accused one of lying in her testimony from "beginning to end." At the same time, she attacked their utility as prostitutes; Riehl criticized their appearance, claiming some of the prostitutes were so unattractive that they brought in few clients—"She was the ugliest of my girls"—and their behavior—"She wasn't the worst of the girls, but she had a habit of flirting, which I would not tolerate."[29] Rather than harming the prostitutes, Riehl insisted she had actually helped the "girls." For example, she brought wine, fruit, and baked goods when one of them was in the hospital delivering her baby, to whom she gave a "nice outfit."[30]

When challenged about the prostitutes' living arrangements, including their freedom of movement in her establishment, both Riehl and her attorney noted that the vice police had inspected the entire brothel for years and not found it lacking.[31] To allegations that she limited the women's freedom by locking their bedroom doors, Riehl responded that those prostitutes who "behaved themselves" were allowed to move freely throughout the house. Not all of them were, however, "genteel." Although the bedroom doors were locked while the prostitutes slept, the

[28] "Der Prozeß Riehl und Konsorten in Wien," *AKAK*: 14.
[29] "Der Prozeß Riehl und Konsorten in Wien," *AKAK*: 27, 33.
[30] "Der Prozeß Riehl und Konsorten in Wien," *AKAK*: 44.
[31] "Der Prozeß Riehl und Konsorten in Wien," *AKAK*: 18.

interior doors were for the most part open during the day, she claimed. As concerned the bars on the prostitutes' bedroom windows, Riehl noted that before she had had the windows barred, some prostitutes had thrown fruit out of them at the officers who lived across the street or flirted with the apprentices who were training nearby. Riehl had not kept the prostitutes locked up at the brothel against their will; rather she had taken them to play lawn tennis in the Prater, Vienna's oldest and largest public park, located in the Second District, Leopoldstadt. If this were the case, the women might not have gone there on foot because the Viennese police regulations forbade tolerated prostitutes to use the Praterstraße and Prater-Hauptallee, which were major routes through the park, and any number of the city's other busy thoroughfares, during daylight hours except in an emergency.[32]

Riehl also rejected accusations that she had locked away the prostitutes' clothing to prevent them from leaving her employ. She claimed that when one girl came to her "in rags," she cleaned her up so well that the police commissioner who had originally registered the prostitute did not recognize her when he met her again a fortnight later. The well-known, sharp-tongued Viennese satirist, journalist, and author Karl Kraus, who commented extensively on the trial in his essay, "Der Fall Riehl" (The Riehl Case) in the 13 November issue of his satirical journal, *Die Fackel*, responded to this Riehl assertion with the remark that she "could make the shabbiest debutante suitable for good company in two weeks' time."[33] When the prosecutor questioned her concerning the disposition of prostitutes' clothing after their arrival at the brothel, Riehl explained that "one or two of the girls had brought good clothes with her," but claimed that most of them were simple girls and some of their clothing had to be discarded because it was in rags. According to Riehl, all of the prostitutes had access to their own clothing. They simply had to request the key to the wardrobe where it was stored. Styrian-born Marie Pokorny, known as "Irma"—whom Riehl considered one of her "finest" girls—always had the key. Moreover, all of the residents had their housedresses, which they could wear outside. Pokorny herself had five dressing gowns![34]

In her narrative, Riehl ran her establishment in exemplary fashion. She did not traffic in women; she saved girls from traffickers.[35] Riehl asserted that she had helped one girl by taking her off the hands of a "trafficker" when the brothel in Prague for which she had been intended rejected her. (Trafficker in this case probably referred to a panderer, someone who offered acquiescing women to brothels or moved them between brothels with their agreement.) Riehl also rejected accusations of orgies in the brothel, asserting that, on the contrary, she did not permit champagne, dancing, or card playing on her premises, much to the chagrin

[32] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2122, 6033/07, "Protokoll."

[33] Karl Kraus, "Der Fall Riehl," *Die Fackel* 8/211 (13 November 1906): 2, was reprinted in his collection, *Sittlichkeit und Kriminalität*, vol. 1, *Ausgewählte Schriften* (Vienna: L. Rosner, 1908), 257. For Riehl's claim: "Der Prozeß Riehl und Konsorten in Wien," *AKAK*: 31; and *Lidové noviny*, 4 November 1906, 3.

[34] "Der Prozeß Riehl und Konsorten in Wien," *AKAK*: 17.

[35] *Bohemia*, 4 November 1906, 6.

of some of the brothel's clients. (Her champagne claim was contradicted by the prostitute's assertions of punishment for drinking left-over bubbly.)

Several witnesses accused Riehl of withholding their earnings—prostitutes paid four crowns daily plus half their earnings to the brothel keeper for room and board—and their *Strumpfgeld/Zimmergeld* (the tips clients gave them, which they secreted in their *Strümpfe*, or stockings, and the money for the sex act). They claimed Riehl and Pollak even searched their stockings in order to confiscate these tips after some prostitutes had used money they had hidden in their stockings to bribe the porter when they sought to escape the brothel.[36] One woman testified that Riehl considered attempts to keep the *Strumpfgeld/Zimmergeld* "theft" and if she found any of this money, she reacted with ranting and blows.

Riehl responded to allegations that she had withheld their money from the prostitutes by claiming to have been a good, honest employer. She explained that in some cases she had paid prostitutes' wages to their parents. Co-defendant König, who blamed his daughter's "indecent behavior" for his loss of a position as coachman, and to whom Riehl gave twenty Gulden monthly, was not the only parent accused of profiting from a daughter's sexual labor. Another witness testified that it was her mother who had brought her to Riehl. In addition to König, two other parents of prostitutes were charged in Vienna's municipal court for violation of the vagabond law in connection with profiting from their daughters' sexual labor at the brothel. Some parents appear to have considered the employment of their offspring in the brothel a business exchange. They had supposedly coerced their daughters into remaining at the brothel when they sought to leave.[37] None of the outraged rhetoric about members of the underclasses ill-treating their daughters by consigning them to brothels considers that their behavior might have been a version of working-class expectations that women work to support themselves and contribute to the family coffers, even from a young age.[38]

Finally, Riehl testified that she had not prevented any prostitute who wanted to quit her employ from doing so. Again contradicting the prostitutes' testimony, she claimed that very few girls had wanted to leave her brothel. In fact, Riehl asserted that when she had had to send some prostitutes away because of their inappropriate behavior or their lack of popularity with the clients, they had pressed her to allow them to continue working for her.

Nine members of the Viennese Police Directorate—including police agents, physicians, and inspectors—followed on the witness stand, defending their roles in oversight of the Riehl brothel.[39] The first witness was Vienna's senior police physician (*Polizeichefarzt*) Anton Merta, who testified concerning the situation at the Riehl establishment from the viewpoint of the vice police. He provided a brief

[36] "Der Prozeß Riehl und Konsorten in Wien," *AKAK*: 28, 33–4.

[37] On allegations that other parents received payment for their daughters' employment in the brothel, "Der Prozeß Riehl und Konsorten in Wien," *AKAK*: 7, 22, 32, 33–4.

[38] Judith R. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 16.

[39] Exchange between the k.k. Landesgericht in Strafsachen in Wien and the Polizeidirektion in Wien, WStLA, LfS: A11, Vr 6372/1906, II. Teil.

history of Vienna's regulated brothels, noting that, because of numerous complaints about women propositioning prospective clients on the street, the then police president had decided to limit public prostitution by introducing closed, tolerated houses during the last years of the nineteenth century. The experiment had not been promising, according to Merta; many houses failed to prosper. Moreover, brothels posed new problems for the police. Vice police agents faced the danger that brothel keepers might seek to bribe them, which sometimes occurred. Indeed, police and tax officials who frequented the Riehl brothel were said to have received discounts.

The police doctor who served as supervising physician for the Riehl establishment followed Merta onto the witness stand. He admitted that he sometimes observed bruises on prostitutes employed there, but assumed they were the result of "particular desires of their clients." Police physicians regularly recorded bruises and a variety of other minor injuries on the prostitutes they were charged with examining, often remarking that injuries were consistent with prostitutes' stories of falling down, and the like.[40] Police physicians in Vienna and elsewhere who administered these examinations were more concerned with preventing the spread of venereal disease than with what they considered minor injuries to the prostitutes.

One inspector highlighted a fundamental tension in the regulatory system when, seeking to fend off an attorney's pointed questions about police involvement with the brothel, including the "exploitation of young women," he contended that "the vice police were not there to protect prostitutes, but rather to protect the public from prostitution." This witness and other police inspectors also rejected the assertion that they had made visits to the Riehl establishment for reasons other than official business.[41]

The police investigated three of their own employees who were accused of wrongdoing at Riehl's. The thirty-eight-year-old veteran police agent second class Josef Pieß, who had been in charge of regular inspections of the brothel, had been suspended without pay the previous July pending disciplinary investigation of his rumored sexual relations with a prostitute in the course of an official inspection of Riehl's establishment and other crimes. At the trial, prostitute witnesses alleged that he sometimes received payoffs from Riehl during brothel inspections.[42] Although he admitted to being at the brothel often—he brought books and photographs for the "girls"—Pieß for his part denied any wrongdoing.[43] Despite his protestations of innocence, there was widespread speculation that Pieß would lose his position.

[40] See police inspection reports for Viennese brothels in LPDW, PM, 1906/1–2.

[41] Trial details can be found in many Austrian newspapers. These are from the *PT*, 7 November 1906, 6–7.

[42] An article in the *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* reported on the shame of that city—Czernowitz—being connected with the Riehl trial in the form of Czernowitz-born police agent Pieß, who actually hailed from Galicia. As Vyleta notes in *Crime, Jews and News*, 174, n. 216, the name of the detective in question was variously spelled Biss, Pieß, Piß, Piss, and Piks in court records, journals, and newspapers, sometimes in the same document, but Pieß was the form that appeared on his *Leumundzeugnis*. The records for Pieß are in the ÖstA, MdI, Inneres, AVA, Praesidium A 1503, Pr Nr. 9494, 9509, 9648, 11059 ex 1906; Pr Nr. 635, 1257, 3536, 3777, ex 1907.

[43] "Der Prozeß Riehl und Konsorten in Wien," *AKAK*: 46, 68–9.

Investigations of two other police employees, *Kommissar* (police inspector) Leopold Schmidt and *Polizeikonzipist* (a police bureaucrat) Dr. Willibald Locker, in connection with reputed irregularities at the Riehl establishment, continued during the trial. Schmidt, at least, seems to have salvaged something of his career, but he was exiled to Bielitz, a small town on the Silesian-Galician border, and his role in the affair was not forgotten.[44]

How could police officials have failed to notice the conditions at Riehl's? The defense asked one witness—a long-time executive of the Alsergrund police headquarters, where he was in charge of dealing with prostitution—whether he had paid particular attention to Riehl's brothel. The witness responded no, he had had to monitor the 160 tolerated prostitutes living in his district as well as a large number of clandestine prostitutes and "an army of pimps." This police official explained that oversight of the Riehl establishment had for the most part simply been left to Pieß, who was a "trusted agent."[45]

The last to take the stand were the seven women charged with perjury. The first to give evidence were twenty-four-year-old Pokorny and twenty-year-old Marie Hosch ("Milli"). Both had been clandestine prostitutes before voluntarily coming to the Riehl establishment. Pokorny, who had arrived at Riehl's four and a half years earlier, initially told police that she felt "comfortable" in Riehl's brothel, that she could leave it whenever she wanted, and she planned to continue working there. Certainly Pokorny had no complaints about Riehl's treatment of her. Moreover, she insisted she knew nothing about Riehl's alleged mistreatment of other girls. Pokorny had shared a room with one of the prosecution's main witnesses, König's daughter, Marie, until the latter left the brothel. Using bourgeois-moral language echoing Riehl that distanced her from Marie König, Pokorny described König as a badly behaved tolerated prostitute, asserting that she acted "very commonly" with the house's clientele. Pokorny claimed that König, who was "very impudent," had had repeated confrontations with Riehl. Furthermore, according to Pokorny, König's comportment had been "absolutely shameless." For example, she repeatedly stood naked before the brothel's open windows. Following several episodes of such behavior, Riehl had threatened to dismiss her.

Hosch's initial responses to police questions had been much the same as Pokorny's. Resident at Riehl's brothel for just over three years, Hosch had come to Grüne Thorgasse after hearing that Riehl "took girls." Although she could leave at any time, Hosch also planned to stay at that Riehl brothel, because she felt "completely comfortable" there. The claims that Bader had made in the *Extrablatt*—of girls being locked up, of girls being mistreated, of girls jumping out of windows, and of girls escaping the brothel—these were all "news" to her.[46]

[44] *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 9 November 1906, 3; ÖSA, MdI, Allg, AVA, 2122, MP, 9550/06, Illegible signature to k.k. Minister des Innern, 8 November 1906. On Schmidt, see, *A-Z*, 10 February 1910, 5.

[45] "Der Prozeß Riehl und Konsorten in Wien," *AKAK*: 74.

[46] Police interviews with Marie Hoch and Marie Pokorny on 26 June 1906, LPDW, St. 1905–1907. See also relevant documents in LPDW, PM, 1906/2.

Pokorny, like the other young female defendants, admitted having earlier perjured herself. At the trial, she claimed that she had initially sought to shield Pieß at Riehl's behest. She testified that he had often been in the brothel, drinking wine and carousing day and night with the other girls, but had never paid Riehl. Rather, Riehl had sometimes given him money. When asked if she had had sexual relations with Pieß, much to the amusement of those present, Pokorny responded that he had never been in her room, although she had engaged in sexual relations with Schmidt, whom she called the "fat inspector." Pokorny's testimony infuriated Riehl, whom she claimed to have treated "like her own child." While the brothel keeper confirmed that she had told the examining magistrate that the inspector in question had "champagnisiert," that is, thoroughly enjoyed himself, at her establishment, Riehl noted she had not mentioned his name. She was "discreet."[47]

Reflecting the enormous popular interest the trial had generated, a huge crowd gathered outside the court building in the late afternoon on 7 November 1906, when the defendants were sentenced. Riehl—the chief villain in the trial narrative—was found guilty on several counts, including limiting the personal freedom of others, embezzlement, fraud, suborning testimony, and procuring. Condemned to three and a half years' hard labor, she began serving her sentence in February 1907. Riehl's two co-defendants, Antonie Pollak, who had been accused of luring young women into the brothel, and plumber's helper König, were convicted of complicity in limiting the personal freedom of others.[48] They were sentenced to one year and to eight months hard labor, respectively. The seven other defendants who had originally spoken in Riehl's defense were convicted of lying under oath, but received relatively light sentences ranging from fourteen days to four weeks in prison, because they had been under the "overwhelming influence" of Riehl, which had "affected" their judgment and will. Moreover, the judge took the youth of some of them into consideration.[49]

Although the prostitute witnesses had behaved differently from one another before, during, and after the trial, as their sentences show, they were consistently treated as victims—"diffident, ashamed, sometimes indifferent"—of their own circumstances. They were not "born prostitutes;" rather, they had become "compulsory laborers for pleasure."[50] ("Born prostitute" is a reference to criminologist Cesare Lombroso's theory of a woman doomed to sexual promiscuity.[51]) In the Riehl trial, the rhetoric of "victims" overcame that of prostitutes as sources of contamination and venereal disease.

[47] "Der Prozeß Riehl und Konsorten in Wien," *AKAK*: 107; also *Bohemia*, 6 November 1906, 6, 72.

[48] The sentences were widely publicized; see for example *Marburger Zeitung*, 8 November 1906, 2; and *Vorarlberger Tagblatt*, 9 November 1906, 3. The accusations against König first appeared in the Bader exposé, *Illustrirtes Wiener Extrablatt*, 24 June 1906, 5.

[49] "Der Prozeß Riehl und Konsorten in Wien," *AKAK*: 110–11.

[50] These characterizations are from *Bohemia*, 4 November 1906, 6.

[51] Cesare Lombroso and Guglielmo Ferrero, "Born Prostitute," *Criminal Woman, the Prostitute, and the Normal Woman*, chapt. 27 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 213–21 (originally published in Italian: *La donna delinquente, la prostituta e la donna normale*, 1893).

This affair did not end with the guilty verdicts nor with Riehl's transportation to the women's prison at Wiener Neudorf in early 1907, as appeals subsequently wended their way through the Austrian legal system. Riehl soon retained Gustav Morgenstern, a well-known criminal lawyer, to appeal her conviction. Morgenstern bombarded the court with appeals, beginning with a *Nichtigkeitsbeschwerde* (a move to vacate, usually based on claims of gross procedural error in criminal complaints) that was quickly rejected.[52] Morgenstern also employed the press in his efforts on Riehl's behalf, arguing in numerous articles beginning in late 1906 that the draconian sentence his client received represented an attempt to pacify an excited public which had scapegoated Riehl and the police for the "evil" of the prostitution scandal. He charged that Bader—in cahoots with one of his journalist colleagues—had paid off one of the prostitutes who testified for the prosecution, and claimed to have discovered new evidence and new witnesses in Riehl's defense. Morgenstern produced statements from a series of potential witnesses, including carpenters, painters, and others, among them other prostitutes formerly in Riehl's employ, and who contradicted the earlier testimony against Riehl. These people claimed to have noticed nothing inappropriate about the way the brothel was run: they described the open doors in the house and the prostitutes' freedom of movement within it.[53] The text of his unsuccessful bid for a retrial appeared in the short-lived muckraking Viennese weekly *Illustrierte Oesterreichische Kriminal-Zeitung*, which focused on criminology as well as prostitution, homosexuality, murder, and other crimes. The paper also published a sixteen-part series, "The Truth about the Riehl Trial," from mid-July through mid-November 1907 (see Illustration 1.1). Riehl never gave up her quest to clear her name: She petitioned Habsburg Emperor Francis Joseph for a pardon and her legal motions continued, unsuccessfully, into the interwar era.[54]

Two of Riehl's co-defendants, Friedrich König and Marie Winkler, entered *Nichtigkeitsbeschwerde*, which were also unsuccessful. Still claiming back wages for their sexual labor, several prostitutes brought civil cases against Riehl for damages. One woman, Anna Kirchner, known in the brothel as "Cecile," had worked at the brothel for about eighteen months, from November 1904 until it closed. Kirchner, by then living in Budapest, sued Riehl for damages in civil court when her attorney and Riehl's could not agree on the sum she was owed. (Kirchner, who sought 5,693 crowns in damages, rejected Riehl's counteroffer of 600 crowns.) She claimed that, as a nineteen-year-old, she had been encouraged by one of Riehl's employees to leave her position as a *Buffetdame* (a hostess who serves buffet guests) to work in the brothel. Like other witnesses, Kirchner alleged that soon after her arrival at the Riehl establishment, she had sought to leave, but was kept in the brothel against her will, where her freedom was limited, and she was abused by

[52] WStLA, LfS: A11, Vr 6372/1906, II. Teil, correspondence addressed to das k.k. Landesgericht in Strafsachen Wien, 1 and 2 December 1906; the response from the k.k. I Staatsanwalt arrived 8 December 1906.

[53] "Die Wahrheit über den Prozess Riehl," *Illustrierte Oesterreichische Kriminal-Zeitung*, 25 July 1907, 2 through 18 November 1907, 5.

[54] Copies of the numerous appeals on Riehl's behalf are in WStLA, LfS: A11 6372 II. Teil, 1906.

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Die Wahrheit über den Prozess Riehl.

FRIEDRICH KÖNIG

ANTONIA POLLAK

REGINE RIEHL

Illustration 1.1. Defendants in the Riehl Trial (ÖNB/Vienna).

Riehl or at the madam's behest. Adjudication of Kirchner's complaint was repeatedly delayed owing to the need to find witnesses, including the "famous Liesel," and to Riehl's concerns about her safety—probably unsubstantiated—when traveling to court escorted only by gendarmes.[55] This appeal and related cases, details of which sometimes appeared in Viennese newspapers, kept Riehl and the trial in the focus of attention for years.

BROTHEL DRAMA: REPRESENTATIONS OF THE TRIAL

Even as the accusations were still being adjudicated, the Riehl trial quickly took on a life of its own in the press, which afforded the public a window into the courtroom. The courtroom itself became a performance space, and newspapers offered up salacious detail about the prostitute witnesses, which together with *Feuilleton* (the classic, short-form first-person report perfected in the newspapers of Central Europe), editorials, and the occasional letter to the editor, all helped shape public opinion. So, too, did newspaper artists' illustrations of the defendants in some mass-readership dailies. Numerous academic-medical-juridical lectures and the publication of articles, cartoons, illustrations, pamphlets, and books—fact and fiction; popular and learned—in the trial's wake reflected the contemporary attitudes of medical, legal, police, and other voices toward the regulation of prostitution in Austria.

The reporting was often sensational, even in some of the more serious newspapers. It permitted members of the wider, increasingly literate public the opportunity to observe this "brothel drama" from the comfort of their own home, their own office, or a favorite café.[56] Sub-headlines in coverage by Prague's normally staid German-language daily, *Bohemia*, included "The Unhappy Carmen," "The Bartered," and "The Man with the Whip." As the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* editorialized to its working-class readers on the front page of its 6 November issue, although the verdict was yet to be announced, the trial had revealed the hypocritical and indifferent attitude of the world to the miserable lives of these girls, and people sneered at their fates.[57] Other journalists found amusement in various aspects of the trial at the expense of the accused and other witnesses.

The personalities involved in the trial were journalists' main focus, and the reporting was juicy. In addition to publishing sympathetic, word-for-word accounts of the testimony presented by prostitutes and former prostitutes for the prosecution, some newspapers provided detailed descriptions of their physical appearances and clothing, which ranged from a plain blue cotton dress and black kerchief to the striking—and expensive—dress of the demimonde. Vienna's liberal

[55] *Die Neue Zeitung* (hereafter *DNZ*), 6 November 1907, 7.

[56] On "brothel-drama" productions on the American stage during the Progressive Era, see Katie Johnson, *Sisters in Sin: Brothel Drama in America, 1900–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[57] *A-Z*, 7 November 1906, 1; *Bohemia*, 6 November 1906, 7.

Neue Freie Presse described the prostitutes on trial as "most very inconspicuous, not very pretty, and some a bit nasty." The reporters generally agreed that Pokorny was the most elegant of the prostitute defendants. She was a slim blonde who wore a dark violet dress and white over-blouse, with a white hat and gloves, "whose flirtatious movements caused her bracelets to jingle," while Marie Hosch was a pretty girl who appeared pregnant. Conversely, one small girl was "completely unseductive," but she and another former prostitute who now held "respectable" positions had "upright appearances." Indeed, by the time of the trial, some of the former prostitute witnesses were employed as barmaids, seamstresses, and washerwomen, while others had simply left Vienna.[58]

The discussions that accompanied the Riehl trial clearly demonstrated that prostitution had become a "topic of the day." It was a theme that some contemporaries asserted was becoming "salonfähig" (acceptable for good society), owing in part to the extensive—and varied—newspaper coverage of the trial throughout the Monarchy. In Czernowitz, the capital of Bukovina, the *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* responded to the verdict with a front-page article, "Moderne Sklaverei" (modern slavery), while the *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, usually so much part of the boulevard press, limited its coverage to a recitation of the sentences given the three primary defendants. In Lemberg, Galicia's provincial capital, a headline over portraits of the three chief defendants, König, Pollak, and Riehl, in the daily *Wiek Nowy* referred to the trial as a "Bardzo brudna sprawa" (very dirty case). Another Lemberg newspaper, *Gazeta Narodowa*, referred to "terroryzowanie dziewcząt" (terrorizing girls). On the Austrian Littoral, Trieste's social democratic newspaper, *Il Lavoratore*, in an article titled "Il processo Riehl e la polizia di Vienna" (The Riehl trial and the Viennese police), commented that "Riehl profited from her 'excellent relations with police'" to "hoard underage women, falsify documents, and limit personal freedom." It sardonically concluded that "similar situations occur only in Vienna and no other city,"[59] a reference to Trieste's often irregularly run bordellos. Elsewhere, local dailies and weeklies reported on convictions in the "scandalous" trial, but provided relatively few details.

Only in some places in the Monarchy and only employing careful language was the Riehl trial "salonfähig," however. Mährisch Ostrau's *Ostrauer Zeitung* carried a report from Brünn, the Moravian capital, commenting that the Viennese press provided extensive coverage of the trial, but the provincial press, which feared bringing such reading material into "the [bourgeois] family," did not. The assertion of silence in at least some provincial papers is accurate. Another of the city's German-language newspapers, the *Ostrauer Tagblatt*, carried only a brief article under the straightforward headline "Der Prozess Riehl in Wien" (The Riehl trial in

[58] For descriptions of the prostitutes, especially Marie Pokorny, see for example *NFP*, 2 November 1906, 4; 3 November 1906, 5 (evening edn.); *PT*, 7 November 1906, 7.

[59] Heinrich Grün, *Prostitution in Theorie und Wirklichkeit* (Vienna: J. Deubler, 1907), 1. See *Ostrauer Zeitung*, 6 November 1907, 2; *Ostrauer Tagblatt* carried only a brief article, "Der Prozess Riehl in Wien," 8 November 1906, 2; *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 9 November 1906, 1; *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 8 November 1906, 5; *Gazeta Narodowa*, November 1906, 2; *Wiek Nowy*, 6 November 1906, 6–7; 8 November 1906, 6; and *Il Lavoratore*, 10 November 1906, 1–2.

Vienna), describing the main defendant as "die schamlose B . . . wirtin (the brazen b . . . keeper) Regine Riehl." Neither the word "prostitution" nor "brothel" appeared in the article.

Those newspapers that closely followed the trial also highlighted the various ways that the girls had become prostitutes. One of them, Ottilie Geresch, had been just fourteen years old when she came to the brothel to work, so she thought, as a maid. Geresch testified that before presenting her to clients, Riehl and another of the prostitutes had forcibly cut her hair and clothed her in a sailor suit to make her look even younger than she was.[60] (This was regular practice among at least some independent tolerated prostitutes, as the police clarified when responding to complaints from the Jockey Club about young girls, barely out of school, behaving immorally on Kärtner Strasse, one of the "best" streets in the capital.[61]) In her widely reported testimony, Czech-speaker Justine Rohaček explained that she had first gone to Riehl's to learn German. Initially taken on as a chambermaid, Rohaček had balked at Riehl's demands that she also service brothel clients. Riehl's response to her refusal, she asserted, was that "a *böhmisches Mädel* [Czech girl] had to do everything" clients demanded of her. Rohaček was not the only girl who claimed to have gone to Riehl to learn German. A second Czech-speaking witness, whose German was still so broken that she needed a translator at the trial, made the same assertion.[62]

The press revealed that not only did the brothel keeper, their parents, panderers, and other men of their acquaintance allegedly exploit these young women, so too did other prostitutes. Over their coffee, newspaper readers would learn that because police regulations forbade brothels to employ virgins, the absent Eva Madzia reportedly deflowered Anna Christ, who had been a virgin when she entered the Riehl establishment, with a *Mutterspiegel* (vaginal speculum), the same instrument police physicians employed in their regular examinations of prostitutes.[63]

While the prostitutes elicited sympathy in the press as poor victims who needed protection, Riehl and Pollak, together with the police, were demonized. Riehl was deemed responsible for an environment that appeared to be so much like the one victims of white slaving allegedly endured. That was something the good Viennese, like many other Europeans, associated with the non-European world. Much of the reporting focused on Riehl's brutality. With the alleged connivance of the Viennese

[60] Based on incomplete records of Viennese brothel-based prostitutes, Geresh was somewhat younger than most tolerated prostitutes. As Judith R. Walkowitz points out, London police rarely arrested a young woman under the age of sixteen for prostitution in the late nineteenth century, Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, 17.

[61] Some women, whose ages were known to police, made themselves appear much younger by their demeanor and by the way they clothed their not-well-developed bodies: Niederösterreichisches Landesarchiv (hereafter NÖLA), NÖ Statthalterei, Reg. Z., 1914, 204a, k.k. n.ö. Statthalterei in Wien, 13 May 1914. The prostitute with the frail, childlike figure is also found in contemporary novels and novellas; see for example Franz Werfel, *Das Trauerhaus; Erzählung* (Munich: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1957), 7.

[62] On Justine Rohaček, see *Bohemia*, 4 November 1906, 6; *Innsbrucker Nachrichten*, 6 November 1906, 8; and *Právo lidu*, 5 November 1906, 7. On the other Czech speaker, Rosa Mareček, see "Der Prozeß Riehl und Konsorten in Wien," *AKAK*: 45.

[63] "Der Prozeß Riehl und Konsorten in Wien," *AKAK*: 9.

vice police, whom she had reputedly bribed, Riehl had pursued her position as madam with the "relentless rigor of a jailer" in a respectable-looking building with a sign on the door reading "Riehl Fashion Salon." As a journalist writing in the Viennese *Tag* noted,

> this trial showed that the violence against girls that one heard about in brothels in South America or God only knows where, the bestiality against lost women that had been dismissed as unverifiable was a daily occurrence in one of the public houses on a busy Viennese street, one on which there was a primary school and student housing for a secondary school. Certainly, it was a decades-long practice that no written or verbal complaint had been able to stop.[64]

The *Illustrierte Kronen Zeitung*, Austria's largest, most populist newspaper, linked the Riehl brothel to the worldwide panic over trafficking in girls, headlining its entire week's coverage of the trial, "Weißen Sklavinnen" (white slaves).[65]

Journalists reporting on the trial also addressed more general issues including the safeguarding of public health and public morals, and police corruption.[66] Vienna's virulently anti-Semitic, racist *Deutsches Volksblatt* asserted, "many agents were not only in the employ of the police, but also of the madams, like Riehl," while *Bohemia* noted, "scholars could address the issue of whether prostitution was necessary or not," but the vice police could not be in league with the brothel owners. In addition to concerns about police corruption, the *Bohemia* article demonstrated the tension between protecting allegedly innocent girls from traffickers on the one hand, and protecting society from venereal disease on the other, revealing the close connections in the popular mind among prostitution, venereal disease, and trafficking:

> The same state that punishes sexual anomalies with prison time in defense of public health cannot countenance that through lax application of medical control the most frightful of all diseases is spread among the population. And the same state that guarantees to protect its citizens from injustice and oppression cannot tolerate that hundreds of inexperienced young girls are relinquished to a horde of organized slave dealers who cheat them of their legitimate earnings.[67]

Vienna's anti-Semitic press stressed, even created, the "Jewish" aspect of the case. Riehl's was one of several high-profile criminal trials in the Viennese fin de siècle that revolved around matters of sexual difference, sometimes deviance, all of them involving Jews. These trials—only hers focused on brothel-based prostitution—mirrored concerns ranging from bigamy through homosexuality to sexual murder, and received broad coverage in the city's major newspapers. They brought the offenses of these sexual outliers to the attention of a public that consumed and

[64] Quoted in the *Friedländer Zeitung*, 10 November 1906, 13.
[65] *IKZ*, 1 November 1906, 3–4; 2 November 1906, 2–3; and 3 November 1906, 2–8.
[66] "Der Prozeß Riehl und Konsorten in Wien," *AKAK*: 12.
[67] *Bohemia*, 8 November 1906, morning edn., 1; and *Deutsches Volksblatt*, 9 November 1906, 7. The "trade" in girls was the aspect of the trial that American abolitionist Abraham Flexner focused on in *Prostitution in Europe*, reprint edn. (New York: The Century Company, 1919 [1914]), 90, 185–6.

enjoyed them.[68] Riehl's and Pollak's Jewish background soon became cause célèbre. In fact, Riehl, the baptized daughter of Jewish parents, was identified in the court records as Protestant, while the Vienna-born König, described as well-dressed and looking like a Viennese *Fiaker*, or carriage driver, was Roman Catholic, as were many, if not most, of the prostitute witnesses.

As Daniel M. Vyleta has written, the *Deutsches Volksblatt*'s reporting on the first day of the trial contained no hint that there might be a "Jewish dimension" to the case. On 3 November, however, its coverage of Pollak's testimony appeared under the subtitle, "Die rothaarige Judin" (The redheaded Jewess). The following day, the same newspaper unmasked Riehl as a "Jewish procuress." Connecting prostitution to white slaving, with which many people associated Jews as both victims and perpetrators, the article further commented that the trade of traffickers was as international as that of prostitutes; it was "no mistake that she [Riehl] was a Jewess" and she surely had "partners in every large city."[69]

The anti-Semitic press used the trial as a pretext to attack the liberal ("Jewish") press and the "judaization" of modern society. Under the headline "Sodom and Gomorra," the conservative, Roman Catholic *Volksblatt für Stadt und Land* referred to the principal accused as "two Jews," commenting that "the majority of the police whose illegal relationship to the Riehl establishment and whose neglect of their duty has been established were Jews." The *Deutsches Volksblatt* also took the opportunity in its coverage of the trial to decry the corruption of the police force, owing to its "judaization," and called for it to be dejudaized. The article, headlined "The Cesspool of the Big City," identified Pieß, the police-villain of the trial, as Jewish, but I have found no confirmation of this.[70] Moreover, the *Deutsches Volksblatt* continued, the "Jewish" press—the journalist Bader was Jewish—had created the situation and then profited from it. Finally, the article noted the influence of Jews and the Jewish press on the continuing decline of Christian morality.[71] In a front-page article on 8 November, the *Reichspost* explicitly connected Riehl's "Jewish immorality" to that of convicted sex offender Theodor Beer, a university professor who was another Protestant convert.[72] The allegations of the

[68] Vyleta, *Crime, Jews and News*; Scott Spector, "The Wrath of 'Countess Merviola': Tabloid Exposé and the Emergence of Homosexual Subjects in Vienna in 1907," in *Sexuality in Austria*, Günter Bischof, Anton Pelinka, and Dagmar Herzog, eds., *Contemporary Austrian Studies* (2006): 31–47; and Spector, "Where Personal Fate Turns to Public Affair: Homosexual Scandal and Social Order in Vienna, 1900–1910,"*Austrian History Yearbook* 38 (2007): 15–24; on the interaction between the boulevard press and the public in Cracow's notorious *Lustmord* trial, see Nathaniel Wood, "Sex Scandals, Sexual Violence, and the Word on the Street: The Kolasówna *Lustmord* in Cracow's Popular Press, 1905–1906," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 20/2 (May 2011): 243–69. See also Magnus Hirschfeld, "Sexual Murder" and "A Case of Sexual Murder," in *Sexual Anomalies: The Origins, Nature, and Treatment of Sexual Disorders*, 2nd edn. (New York: Emerson Books, Inc., 1956), 379–423.

[69] *Deutsches Volksblatt*, 3 November 1906, 8; and 4 November 1906, 1.

[70] Religion is not listed on the *Leumundzeugnis*, according to Vyleta, *Crime, Jews and News*, 174, n. 216.

[71] *Volksblatt für Stadt und Land*, 9 November 1906, 2.

[72] "Der Herd der Seuche," *Reichspost*, 8 November 1907, 1. See Scott Spector, *Violent Sensations: Sex, Crime, and Utopia in Vienna and Berlin, 1860–1914* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 141–5.

pernicious influence of Jews on Viennese society was part of a greater popular anti-Semitism that pervaded the imperial capital at the fin de siècle, so it is no surprise that it was part of the Riehl affair narrative. This narrative adumbrates Nazi constructions of Jewish men as sexual perpetrators and young Christian women as the victims.

The anti-Semitic political-satirical bi-weekly *Kikeriki!* paid relatively little attention to the trial, except for a bit of doggerel on the front page of its 8 November edition. The brothel madam, her helper Pollak, the "fat inspector," detective Pieß, and even Bader, however, graced the pages of the 11 November issue of another Viennese satirical publication, the weekly *Wiener Caricaturen*. The major personalities in the recent courtroom drama became the subject of numerous articles, cartoons, and inserts. The police inspector, the police agent, and Bader (*der Lästige*, that is, the annoying; also identified as the "moral informer") were the main characters in "A Police Drama," which also included discussion of brothel madam Aspasia—named after the lover of Athenian statesman Pericles—as a stand-in for Riehl, who would feature in three consecutive numbers of the weekly. Pollak was the heavy-set, sour-faced older woman in black in a full-page cartoon titled "In geheimer Verhandlung" (In secret negotiations). She is shown sitting in a brothel salon (there are framed prints of nudes on the wall behind her) with two well-dressed men, one of whom is saying, "Schon vierzehn Jahre alt, Frau Pollak, schade, schade!" (Already fourteen years old, Mrs. Pollak, what a shame, what a shame!), a reference to brothel clients' appetites for young women and the youth of some of Riehl's prostitutes.[73]

Karl Kraus is the journalist whose name remains most closely linked with the Riehl scandal. His well-known analyses of the events, which appeared in *Die Fackel*, stood in stark contrast to those of the other Viennese journalists who covered the case. In "The Riehl Case," and a second, shorter essay, "The After Effects of the Riehl Trial," on 23 November, Kraus employed irony, satire, and sarcasm in a relentless indictment of the hypocrisy not only of the journalists who reported on the trial but also of the Viennese bourgeoisie and police. Indeed, he condemned the entire contradictory Austrian judicial, political, and religious system that the trial revealed, not least, for the focus on "sin" and "the crazy mixture of morality and nosiness." In his ongoing critique of corruption and hypocrisy in Austrian life, Kraus cited the Riehl case in several later essays, often in connection with judicial incompetence and police corruption.[74]

The publicity over the Riehl affair, beginning with the Emil Bader exposé in the *Illustrirtes Wiener Extrablatt*, brought regulated prostitution to the public attention in a way it had not been previously. Discussion of the sordid details revealed in the court testimony was not limited to the boulevard press; even the *Neue Freie Presse*, the most important "serious" newspaper in the Monarchy, gave them wide

[73] *Wiener Caricaturen*, Nos. 45, 46, 47; 11, 18, and 25 November 1906.

[74] Kraus, "Der Fall Riehl," 1–28; Sittenrichter: "Die Folgen des Prozesses Riehl" 8/212 (23 November 1906): 26–8; "Apokalypse. (Offener Brief an das Publikum.)," 10/261–62 (13 November 1908): 1–14; "Die Ära nach dem Prozeß Riehl," 8/216 (9 January 1907): 1–19.

coverage. The popular presses' scrutiny of Riehl, her co-defendants, the police, and the prostitute witnesses at the November trial reflected the wider public's concern—feigned or real—over issues ranging from outrage at the idea of trafficking in the imperial capital through police corruption, to mistreatment of poor, young women at the hands of Riehl. Vienna's anti-Semitic press also stressed the alleged role of Jews in all of these issues. The public outcry over the prostitutes' treatment pushed the imperial government to undertake a thorough re-examination of regulation.

MORE BROTHEL SCANDALS

In the wake of the Riehl trial, there was a flurry of attention to other Viennese brothels thought to be violating the law. Both the Liga and city residents denounced keepers of these brothels, some of them clandestine. In early 1907, the Liga, taking seriously its self-proclaimed role in safeguarding the moral life of the Monarchy, sought to provide further evidence that the conditions at Riehl's were not exceptional. Thus, the organization presented a confidential memorandum to the police enumerating various infractions against virtue in Vienna, noting that the police were rumored to be involved in some cases.[75] That people were enabling illicit commercial sex at a time of public outcry over prostitution indicates that they believed they had little to fear from the vice police.

This was incorrect, as forty-six-year-old businessman Rudolf Schick and his thirty-eight-year-old lover, Helene Löwy, also known by the Hungarian diminutive, Ilka, learned. Their trials and convictions in January 1907 and November 1908 indicate greater vice-police focus on illicit sex. On 1 January 1907, some two months after the Riehl trial, Schick and Löwy appeared in the Neubau district court in Vienna.[76] First arrested on New Year's Eve 1906, they were charged with filing a false report and operating a clandestine brothel in the six luxuriously appointed rooms they shared on Mariahilferstraße in the Sixth District.

Accusations of pandering against the pair were not new: there had long been allegations that they had arranged "meetings" between men and women at their previous residence, near the Burggarten. The prosecutor informed the court that this affair involved hundreds of cases of pandering. He told the accused that their neighbors had long—and "very exactly"—observed their behavior. The evidence, he threatened, was not going to help the defense. The two defendants initially

[75] The Liga's report described the Chapony establishment in the Eighth District as including an elegant salon, a ballroom, and a common bath, but whose door was always bolted shut, so the prostitutes did not have freedom of movement, and which had very small rooms, closets almost, in which several women slept. A "foreigner" who ran a brothel in the Ninth District, on Van Swietengasse 8 off Währingerstraße, had allegedly accrued a great deal of wealth. According to the Liga, in order to have a "worthy successor," the madam had married off her son to a woman who now ran the brothel. The twelve prostitutes at this brothel had been "sucked dry" in a situation alleged to be similar to that of Riehl's. See the series of Vertrauliche Anzeige der Liga from January 1907, LPDW, PM, 1907/1.

[76] Löwy was already known to the public because of her conviction the previous January for defaming a young Polish countess, *IKZ*, 1 January 1907, 1–2.

rejected the accusations of "introducing" men and women for the purposes of commercial sex. Schick, a currency and valuables agent, who claimed to be a police confidante, admitted to registering the divorcée Löwy, with whom he had long lived, as his wife, but maintained he knew nothing about any alleged "rendezvous." The couple sublet rooms, he testified, including to two *Buffetdamen*. Löwy also proclaimed her innocence of the charges. She asserted she had never mediated ladies' and gentlemen's introductions, although she had rented a room to a man to use as an *Absteigequartier* (a sleazy hotel or brothel), where he often had female company. But she did not know his name.

At the end of the first day's proceedings, Löwy suddenly changed her story. She claimed that she was "only" doing what other women—who were apparently popularly known for engaging in similar kinds of sexual commerce, and whom the State's Attorney had promised to bring to trial for pandering—"had long done." The young women who frequented Löwy's told her they had earned a "great deal of money at Sachs'," a mysterious woman whose clients came from the upper echelons of Viennese society, and who had once arranged "to sell a woman's body for two hundred Gulden." The judge responded that he did not know the business of the women Löwy named, but she had admitted to illegal activity (pandering).[77]

On the second day of deliberations, Löwy conceded the charges against her, but asserted that she did "not do it a lot," perhaps, once or twice a month. And she never profited from her clients, whom she claimed to have charged ten to twenty Gulden; her real position was that of a landlady. Schick stood by his earlier assertions, explaining that he had been busy or out of town when men and women had come to his abode for the purpose of commercial sex. Moreover, he was a police confidante. Police detective-inspector Alois Bauer affirmed some of Schick's testimony: Schick earned a good living as a private secretary, and he—Bauer—paid him for information.

What did the neighbors have to say about this establishment? Some witnesses testified that a "large" number of women entered the premises at night, where they made "a great deal of noise": singing, playing music, and drinking. Others claimed to have thought the apartment was a "refuge" for clandestine prostitution. The *Buffetdamen* could not be questioned because they had precipitously decamped to Budapest.

Löwy and Schick were convicted of pandering, but the outcome of their trial differed markedly from that of Riehl, who had been found guilty of a panoply of other crimes. The judge sentenced Löwy to one month, Schick to three weeks in prison.[78] The *Wiener Kriminal- und Detektiv-Zeitung* noted that Löwy fared better at her trial than had Riehl. Indeed, everything among all of the participants was "ganz gemütlich" (very cozy). And rightly so, according to the newspaper, because

[77] According to the Liga's 12 March 1907 note, (Rosa) Weiß and (Therese von) Schön, who lived next door to one another in the First District, were procurers. Both the identity of Sachs and that of her protector was a topic of interest, because she appeared immune from prosecution. LPDW, PM, 1907/2; "Die Sachs," in *A-Z*, 2 January 1907, 3; and *IKZ*, 1 January 1907, 1–2.

[78] *A-Z*, 6 January 1907, 8; *Deutsches Volksblatt*, 6 January 1907, 9.

"alles hat ja gut gelebt" (Everyone [involved] had lived well), and everyone had made money, even the women who rented their bodies by the hour. The Löwy and Schick trial had no victims. That was in contrast to the case of Riehl: the brothel keeper kept all of the money that others deserved and treated her boarders—the prostitutes—like slaves.[79] In this case, no journalists were whipping up public sentiment, but there was also less to raise emotions. While observers could condemn illicit sex on moral grounds, there were no young victims and no unwilling participants. Neither public hygiene, which so animated the police, nor public morals was part of the conversation.

Their convictions did not deter Löwy and Schick from continuing to seek to profit from commercial sex. On 5 November 1908, almost two years after their first trial, the pair, together with Gisela Kurz, a young Hungarian variously described as an actress "of the lesser sort" or a chorus girl (code words for clandestine prostitutes), and who apparently sometimes acted as go-between for Löwy and her clientele, appeared before the same judge in the same court in Neubau. Löwy and Schick, who were charged with the same crime, pandering, resided in similarly luxuriously appointed digs, also in the Sixth District, this time on Theobaldgasse 16. Löwy again denied charges of pandering, claiming—again—that she simply rented rooms to "gentlemen," and Schick again denied having had anything to do with pandering. And, once again, the ability of a mysterious woman named Sachs to "introduce" men and women to one another for purposes of commercial sex with apparent impunity became part of the court record.

The prosecution's accusations were even more pointed at the second trial. The judge read out a number of the anonymous denunciations dating back to the previous summer. One referred to Löwy as a public menace and a well-known procuress, whose pimp bragged that he had all of the police detectives in his pocket—a reference to Schick and detective-inspector Bauer, who testified in the first trial. Löwy had allegedly "harassed" the wives of several aristocrats, "threatening them with scandal." Another anonymous accuser asked why the police had not yet raided her brothel, suggesting they had perhaps been "granted access" to prostitutes, as had been the case at Riehl's. An aristocrat wrote to the police of "happening" into the brothel and becoming infected with venereal disease as a result.

Witnesses included four young women who had been caught *in flagrante* during the police raid. Previously convicted of clandestine prostitution, they were not innocent victims, and they provided the court lively descriptions of the brothel, where aristocratic clients allegedly whiled away their afternoons. The first, Hedwig G., "an elegantly dressed governess" who had once lived with Löwy and who still occasionally went there "to meet" men, explained that she divided her earnings with the accused. Löwy, she claimed, "was good to her." The woman's younger sister, Alma, also a witness, said the same. They agreed when the defense attorney commented, "So, [Löwy was] no Riehl, as has been alleged." Neither sister could shed any light on the alleged involvement of Kurz or Schick.

[79] *Wiener Kriminal- und Detektiv-Zeitung*, 12 January 1907, 12.

Another witness, nineteen-year-old Elsa D., incriminated Kurz as a go-between. Elsa D. explained that after "her lieutenant" no longer supported her, she went to Löwy's, where she said, "Things went well." Elsa D. asserted that she gave Kurz ten crowns for taking her there a couple of times. When Kurz vehemently denied this assertion, the other witnesses shrieked, "The Hungarian lies!" A second Hungarian, the "actress" Margit H., testified she got Löwy's address in Budapest and upon arrival in Vienna made immediate use of it, renting a room for ten Gulden.

The prosecutor demanded that Löwy and Schick be found guilty of pandering, jailed, and subsequently expelled from Austria because they had previous convictions. Löwy, who "continually whined during sentencing that she was not allowed to do what Mrs. Sachs was allowed to do," was found guilty and sentenced to two months' hard time, to be followed by expulsion from Austria. The other two defendants were acquitted.[80] Upon appeal Löwy's sentence was extended to three months, and both Kurz and Schick were also convicted. The former was sentenced to one week in jail and the latter to three months' hard time, after which Schick and Löwy, as foreigners that is, Hungarians, were to be expelled from Austria.[81] None of the newspaper reports mentioned—it was perhaps not revealed in court—Viennese vice police's efforts to trace, and possibly connect the accused with, the movement of women from Budapest to Vienna for purposes of commercial sex. According to vice police records, Margit H. had earlier been registered with police in Budapest. She had recently come to Vienna with her pimp, and the pair were reputed to have brought another woman with them for illicit purposes.[82]

That Löwy and Schick were charged not once, but twice, soon after the Riehl scandal for running a clandestine brothel indicates their apparent unconcern about vice police raids. Moreover, as Löwy made clear during her first trial, she believed other Viennese women undertook similar activities with impunity. So, too, did Liga members.

The press discourses about the second trial employed some of the same categories as the Riehl trial, but with little outrage. The trials attracted attention, but they failed to garner hysterical headlines about the dark secrets of brothels, which housed "innocent" girls sold into prostitution and enslaved or trafficked to foreign shores. Nor did the coverage engender soul-searching about the meaning of prostitution, because all of the participation was voluntary. The second trial's proceedings appeared in the court columns of Viennese newspapers of varying political views, including the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, *Deutsches Volksblatt*, and *Neue Freie Presse*, all of which had also covered the first trial as well as the Riehl trial. In their reporting on the trials the newspapers made no mention of trafficking—despite the vice police investigations—nor were there front-page stories of poor girls, sold by their parents into prostitution and "enslaved" in a brothel, to tug at the reader's heart strings.

[80] *A-Z*, 6 November 1908, 12; *NFP*, 6 November 1908, 12; *DNZ*, 6 November 1908, 6; and *Deutsches Volksblatt*, 5 [sic] November 1908, 8.

[81] Kurz was acquitted of the charges. LPDW, PM, 1907/2, unidentified newspaper article, 7 March 1909.

[82] LPDW, PM, 1907/2, signed by August von Hofer, 25 October 1908.

There was little moral indignation because the women were neither presented as, nor perceived as, victims. For the tabloid press, if not the serious press, the illicit goings-on in Vienna's brothels were old news.

While the *Deutsches Volksblatt* reminded its readers that Löwy, like Riehl, was Jewish: "Ein jüdisches Kupplerin verurteilt" (A Jewish panderer sentenced), the newspaper report that appears to have caught the attention of the police, indeed, the one saved in the Viennese police archives, is "Das Haus der Liebesrendevous" (The house of illicit "quickies"), from the inside pages of the *Illustrirtes Wiener Extrablatt*, which had broken the Riehl case.[83] The detailed report included comments comparing conditions at Löwy's to those at Riehl's, although the way in which the two women provided commercial sex was very different. Vice police attention to this article shows continued sensitivity to reminders of the Riehl trial, which had been a public relations catastrophe. These cases reflect ongoing as well as renewed vice police focus on commercial sex and concern about trafficking in girls, and continued popular interest in public immorality. They also demonstrate the allure of illicit sex as a source of profit: In October 1910, Löwy, who had been expelled from Austria following her second conviction, was again found guilty in Viennese courts of pandering and other crimes.[84] While the vice police may have reformed—and increased—their surveillance of tolerated brothels after the Riehl trial, their ability to contain casual, clandestine prostitution was little improved.

CONCLUSION

As the Löwy-Schick trials demonstrate, the widely publicized Riehl trial quickly became a point of reference, albeit from varying, often opposing positions and with divergent foci, for contemporary and subsequent discussions of regulated prostitution in Cisleithanian Austria. The differing interpretations the trials produced drew upon disparate tropes about what prostitutes were—dangerous, exploited, "fallen," Other; and who their clients were—wild proletarians, men with "perverse" sexual preferences, or men, often young, expressing "natural" urges. These beliefs in turn were elaborated in the popular press of the day, but they also constituted or confirmed the beliefs of local officials throughout Austria. Accounts of the trial rested on numerous stereotypes associated primarily with urban prostitution: exploitative trafficking, assumed to be dominated by Jews, of sometimes-unwilling women and girls to brothels; widespread police corruption; the threat prostitutes posed to public health and public morals (in the case of married men, a brothel visit might protect the sensibilities of their bourgeois wives, but it could also infect them with VD); and the specter of poor families, rural and urban, selling their daughters into prostitution in the towns and cities of the Monarchy. Experts on all sides of the prostitution question—and not only in Austria—long cited the Riehl trial: those

[83] *Deutsches Volksblatt*, 5 [sic] November, 1908, 8; and *Illustrirtes Wiener Extrablatt*, 6 November 1908, 13.

[84] *DNZ*, 11 October 1910, 6. Schick's name was not mentioned in the case.

who supported the continued regulation of prostitution, those who sought to modernize it, and those who sought to abolish it altogether.

Testimony in the Riehl trial had introduced various explanations for why the police failed to protect the prostitutes from their alleged exploitation at the hands of Riehl and her accomplices, including the obvious: they personally benefited—monetarily or sexually—from their relationship with the brothel keeper. Despite the fact that Riehl and her two main co-defendants were convicted, the main abuse they had been accused of—limiting the movements of tolerated prostitutes—was considered an unpleasant necessity for the sake of protecting society, above all from venereal disease. Although many experts on the issue had condemned the way Riehl had run her brothel, the affair did not result in broad, organized opposition to the regulation system. Moreover, at least one official asserted that Riehl had honestly run her business with the assumed support of the police. According to this argument, the limitation of freedom of which she had been accused was actually the indirect result of the police regulations, which prevented tolerated prostitutes from practicing their trade in public (streetwalking)—indeed, which sought to keep them out of the public eye. In fact, throughout Austria—and throughout Europe—wherever police directives attempted to make prostitution invisible, they inevitably required implementing measures that limited the prostitute's freedom of movement.[85]

Although in their often one-dimensional descriptions and explanations, the prosecution and many newspapers presented the prostitutes in this trial as simple, often passive, victims at the hands of Riehl and her collaborators, closer examination of their behavior reveals that the women acted in a variety of ways. One former prostitute condemned the brothel keeper in a letter she sent to a newspaper—or she permitted her name to be affixed to a letter someone else had written. The prostitute defendants perjured themselves in their original interviews with police, but recanted, and so found themselves on trial, where they testified against Riehl. The testimony of the prostitutes/former prostitutes demonstrated that prostitutes could move from the category of "fallen" woman into "acceptable" society, because some women who left Riehl's employ, left the "profession" altogether, and now held "decent" jobs. Finally, several prostitutes sued Riehl for back wages and other damages in the wake of the trial, while Winkler moved to have her conviction vacated.

Some of the defendants appear to have continued to work in the trade, but simply changed brothels. Archival records reveal that the same Vienna-born Marie Winkler's name, together with that of a Marie Pokorny, appeared in vice police reports soon after the trial as a resident of Antonie Brady's brothel at Bäckerstrasse 16 in the First District. It seems likely that this is also the same Pokorny, because the two, whom Riehl "trusted," had overlapped at her brothel. They are listed as sometime residents at the Brady brothel beginning in mid-1907 through at least 1910. Pokorny later moved to Therese Artin's nearby brothel at Bäckerstraße

[85] Grün, *Prostitution in Theorie und Wirklichkeit*, 19.

2 where, known as "Melanie," she worked throughout the First World War. Vice police noted during a mid-March 1916 brothel inspection report that Pokorny had 20,000 crowns in savings ($2,515.72), making her among the few tolerated prostitutes in Vienna known to have profited from the trade.[86]

While the police considered prostitutes to be women who had to be controlled, they realized something had to be done to counter the negative perceptions of the police that the Riehl trial encouraged. Local, regional, and imperial officials suggested measures, not all of them enacted, to improve the existing system of regulation. Despite the problems it presented, many officials continued to maintain that this system provided them a means of protecting bourgeois society from some of the sights—and effects—of prostitution, while still providing men a necessary sexual outlet. At the same time, the Riehl trial and its repercussions kept the issue of prostitution, and related issues like trafficking, even venereal disease, in the public consciousness, producing piecemeal revision of this ultimately contradictory policy. Despite its drawbacks, many police and other officials remained convinced that the alternatives to regulated prostitution would be even less effective.

[86] Vice police records in LPDW, PM, 1912, show Pokorny present at many inspections of the Artin brothel through December 1918. The file also contains comments on her savings and those of other women who worked at Artin's, who was occasionally listed as "Emma" in reports. Her brothel address was sometimes given as 8, and Brady's as 2.

2

Reforming Prostitution in Post-Riehl Vienna

> It has been decided: Sexual intercourse is to be abolished in Austria.
>
> Karl Kraus, "Die Ära nach dem Prozess Riehl"

> There is statistical proof that of more than one hundred police commissioners in Austria,
> Three at most are men of the world,
> and they also know no more about love than that
> there was once a Salon Riehl.
>
> Karl Kraus, "Der Kollegentag"[1]

Public outcry over the Riehl trial and the demands for reform of the vice police resulted in an almost immediate Austrian-wide re-examination of regulating prostitution. Regulation was a subject of concern up to the highest levels of the Austrian government, including Minister President Max Wladimir von Beck. Even before the verdict had been announced, the Reichsrat (Imperial Parliament) was the site of lively debate on the topic, when on 6 November 1906, deputies began clamoring for Interior Minister Richard von Bienerth—the police were part of his ministry's portfolio—to explain what measures his ministry was taking in response to the scandal. In his widely reported remarks to parliament on 12 November, Bienerth acknowledged that the government had become aware of the need for a sweeping reform of police surveillance of prostitution owing to the Riehl trial. Alluding to the trial, Bienerth asserted that he would shine a light into the "darkest corner" of his ministerial preserve, by which he meant the vice police. He stressed that any state authorities whom the proceedings had shown to have been derelict in their duties would be held accountable.[2] The Interior Minister announced that both the police headquarters and the Lower Austrian governor's office in Vienna had already taken steps for reform within their spheres of activity as well as to review thoroughly the prostitution regulations. Any changes deemed necessary, including the reform of

[1] "Es ist also ausgemacht: der Geschlechtsverkehr soll in Österreich abgeschaft werden," Karl Kraus, "Die Ära nach dem Prozess Riehl," *Die Fackel* 8/216 (January 1907): 10; and "Es ist statistisch nachgewiesen, daß in Österreich auf hundert Polizeikommissare höchstens drei Lebemänner kommen, und auch diese wissen von der Liebe nichts weiter, als dass es einmal einen Salon Riehl gegeben hat," Karl Kraus, "Der Kollegentag," *Die Fackel* 9/245 (24 February 1908): 4–5.

[2] For reports across Austria on parliamentary demands for action, see for example *Čas*, 8 November 1906, 10; *Deutsches Volksblatt*, 9 November 1906, 7; and *Triester Tagblatt*, 7 November 1906, 1.

the vice police, the ensuring of tolerated prostitutes' freedom, the protection of these women's property, and the enabling of their transition from prostitution to another trade, were to be made.[3] The Minister also planned to ask representatives of other concerned branches of the government to weigh in on proposed modifications to the system.[4] As Bienerth explained, the Riehl trial provided impetus to the previously planned revision of Vienna's prostitution regulations.[5]

Discussion of reform was most animated in Vienna, which was both the imperial capital and the capital of Lower Austria. Revising prostitution regulations preoccupied many levels of Cisleithanian Austrian provincial, regional, and local administration following the Riehl trial. The deliberations among police and other officials took place, for the most part, behind closed doors. Revision was a slow process which, after the initial impetus in 1906, was finally completed only in 1911.

The discussions occurred within the context of a European-wide debate over the efficacy of regulated prostitution in preventing venereal disease and the continued existence of brothel prostitution.[6] Just as Vienna had come late to the regulation of prostitution, authorities there also came late to re-evaluating the system. Members of the public, including representatives of political and voluntary organizations, and even private citizens, contributed their opinions. The Riehl trial and the subsequent consideration of reform offered abolitionists, regulationists, and others the opportunity to assert their varied opinions about prostitution against the background of the worldwide panic over trafficking in women as well as ongoing concerns about venereal disease and public morals. As elsewhere in Europe, not only did Viennese abolitionists and regulationists oppose one another, they disagreed among themselves over issues related to prostitution, including the role of tolerated prostitutes in the spread of venereal disease and who should pay for their medical examinations.[7] In the discussion of regulation, one of the few places women's voices were heard was among the abolitionists—who played only a limited role in prostitution reform after the turn after the century, however, in contrast to much of the rest of Europe, according to Karin J. Jušek.[8]

[3] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2122, k.k. PD in Wien to k.k. MdI, 5 April 1911.

[4] Interpellation, 444 Sitting, 6 November 1906; and Haus der Abgeordneten, 448 Sitting, 12 November 1906, 39711. While some newspapers focused on the voting reform, which was also discussed that day, others, including *A-Z*, 13 November 1906, 2 (morning edn.); *Grazer Volksblatt*, 13 November 1913, 3; *Innsbrucker Nachrichten*, 13 November 1906, 2; and *NFP* 13 November 1906, 5 (morning edn.), printed Bienerth's remarks. NÖLA, NÖ Statthalterei, Reg. Z, XIV, 204a, 11 June 1907.

[5] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2122, k.k. Polizeidirektion Wien, 28 February 1906; and Präs., Prostitution, Revision der Instruktion, 28 May 1906.

[6] The literature on debates over regulation of prostitution in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Europe is enormous. In addition to the material in note 12 of the Introduction, see also Peter Baldwin, *Contagion and the State in Europe, 1830–1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 374–94; and Edward Ross Dickinson, *Sex, Freedom, and Power in Imperial Germany, 1880–1914* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

[7] Karin J. Jušek, *Auf der Suche nach der Verlorenen: Die Prostitutionsdebatten im Wien in der Jahrhundertwende* (Vienna: Löcker Verlag, 1994), 131–6; 143–4. On the genesis of the abolitionist movement, see Paul McHugh, *Prostitution and Victorian Social Reform* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

[8] Jušek, *Auf der Suche nach der Verlorenen*, 141–51. Even in Russia,the female-dominated Congress for the Struggle against the Trade in Women at its first—and last—meeting in 1910 voted against regulation. This "rare female victory in the classic battle between the sexes" was, as Laurie Bernstein

In this chapter, I analyze Viennese debates over prostitution to demonstrate that regulationists in the police headquarters and the Lower Austrian provincial government dominated the conversation about prostitution in Vienna, and thus policy in Austria, until the end of the Monarchy, despite ongoing, scattered calls for more thoroughgoing reform. While government officials sought to protect public health and morals, police officials' main concern initially was preventing a repetition of the Riehl scandal. This goal was reflected in their approach to prostitution in general and reform in particular. Proposals involving increased police surveillance of brothels and prostitutes—which mirrored the state's continuing scrutiny of a particular class of female citizens long categorized as "idle" or "criminal"—were quickly instituted. Other proposed changes were made more slowly, or not at all.

THE POLICE RESPONSE TO THE RIEHL SCANDAL

The Viennese police were under the Lower Austrian government, which answered to the Interior Ministry. They had three spheres of operation: political policing, security of persons and property, and maintenance of public order. Regulation of prostitution fell under the last named. The police governed prostitution by "decrees" or "instructions," rather than laws. The Viennese police could set and change their own rules, but they were obliged to inform the Interior Ministry as the body that ultimately supervised them. In order to prevent additional breaches in police discipline like those highlighted in the Riehl case, in the form of the three police employees who faced criminal charges, the police participated actively in discussions as they sought to rehabilitate their reputation.

Three men played pivotal roles in the revision of Viennese prostitution regulations and the rhetoric of regulation for the duration of the Monarchy: Anton Josef Baumgarten, Anton Merta, and Ernst Finger. The first two were part of the upper echelons of Vienna's police administration. Baumgarten was *Polizeioberkommissar* (Police High Commissioner). Senior Police Physician Merta, who headed the department that dealt with prostitution in connection with the *Zentralstelle zur Überwachung des Mädchenhandels* (Central Office for Monitoring the Trafficking in Girls), which had been created in June 1905, had also testified at the Riehl trial.[9] Both men took part in police discussions in November and were members of the Lower Austrian prostitution commission. Venereologist Finger was Professor of Dermatology at the University of Vienna, and president of the Viennese Medical Association. He also participated in the Lower Austrian commission as an external member representing Viennese hospitals. Baumgarten and Finger would ultimately provide the rationale for the revised police instruction.

notes in *Sonia's Daughters: Prostitutes and their Regulation in Imperial Russia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 287–8, a Pyrrhic one, because the tsarist regime ignored the vote.

[9] Niederösterreichisches Landesarchiv (hereafter NÖLA), NÖ Statthalterei, Reg. Z, XIV, 204a, 11 June 1907.

Viennese police officials met on 8 November and again on 13 November to consider whether changes in the regulation of prostitution laid out in the "Instruction for the Police Supervision of Prostitution" from 1900 were "necessary or desirable."[10] These regulations detailed police registration materials, prescribed prostitute behavior outside their residences, addressed the forcible placement of clandestine prostitutes under police control, and specified measures to combat clandestine prostitution and pimping. Participants considered suggestions for greater centralization of the vice police unit (the *Büro für sittenpolizeiliche Agenden* [office of the vice police] would be established in 1908 to help resolve this problem) and other measures meant to ensure better supervision of the brothels. Focusing on issues raised in the Riehl trial—irregularities in registering prostitutes, limitation of their freedom, underage prostitutes—rather than attempting a thoroughgoing revision of the instruction document, they agreed on transitional provisions for a report to be submitted by 22 November. These proposals were meant to standardize and rationalize vice police work, including reducing future problems that might arise from brothel-based prostitution.

Participants noted that their proposals could not be exhaustive because so few of Vienna's regulated prostitutes lived in brothels. In fact, few prostitutes at all were registered with the police. Although there was no way to assess accurately the number of women who clandestinely practiced prostitution, the number of those registered with the police had consistently been estimated at 10 percent of all the women who engaged in commercial sex since health books were instituted in 1873.[11] Police also briefly addressed the so-called discreet prostitutes, those women who had previously been clandestine prostitutes, but who had voluntarily agreed to give up streetwalking, not to share their residences with other sex workers, and to have regular medical examinations. The police did not issue them health books, but they were to submit voluntarily to regular examinations. There were few such women in Vienna.[12] None of the proposed changes addressed revision of those sections of the Instruction that dealt with clandestine prostitution, which had not been a focus of the trial.[13]

[10] On calls for reform, see *Germania,* 6 November 1906, 2; and *Reichenberger Zeitung*, "Großstadtbilder," 8 November 1906, 1. ÖstA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 9550/06, "Interpellation . . . betreffend de sittenpolizeilichen Zustände," 6 November 1906; and 6033/06, Protokoll, 8 November 1906; and k.k. Polizei-Direktion Wien, Aufnahmeschrift, 13 November 1906.

[11] Jušek, *Auf der Suche nach der Verlorenen*, 114, writes that Viennese police asserted that 10 percent of the prostitutes were regulated in 1873, the year health books were instituted. Ten percent of all prostitutes seems to be the standard estimate. In *Sonia's Daughters*, 46, Bernstein writes that in 1900, *The Women's Cause* reported that the number of prostitutes was ten times higher than the number registered. Julia Roos, in *Weimar through the Lens of Gender: Prostitution Reform, Woman's Emancipation, and Germany Democracy, 1919–33* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 17, notes that on the eve of the First World War, experts in imperial Germany estimated five to ten clandestine prostitutes to every prostitute who was registered with police.

[12] "Instruction für die polizeiliche Überwachung der Prostitution," *Amtsblatt der k.k. Polizei-Direktion in Wien* (1900): 1–16.

[13] Some proposals addressed clandestine prostitution, including forcibly placing women merely suspected of it under police control. See documents in ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 6033/06.

Police officials first discussed Vienna's brothels, rejecting a suggestion to close them immediately in favor of Baumgarten's proposal to suspend temporarily the opening of new ones.[14] They determined that there was no need to close at least "the brothels in which it was feared that an irregular situation like that at the Riehl establishment might develop," because the more stringent regulations that were planned would prevent repetition of such a problem. Those present advocated regular, unscheduled monthly inspections of tolerated brothels, while determining that establishments housing fewer than five prostitutes need not be inspected as regularly as larger brothels. The inspection team was to provide the numbers of prostitutes resident in each brothel, including their names and ages, as well as a description of their personal quarters. The inspections were also meant to provide police the opportunity to discuss with each prostitute her living situation and her relationship with the brothel keeper.[15]

Also in response to the Riehl trial, the police considered proposals to tighten existing procedures for registering prostitutes, especially minors. Some participants sought to limit employment in brothels to those women who had reached the age of majority—the age of female majority in Austria was twenty-four years in contrast to many other parts of Europe where the age was twenty-one years[16]—and to make it more difficult for potential prostitutes to provide incorrect or incomplete personal information when they registered. Police were to be obliged to take special care in completing the prescribed questionnaire when registering minors to ensure that the girl in question was not a victim of a procurer. The commission rejected suggestions that no health books be issued to underage prostitutes and no minors be permitted to enter brothels on the grounds that these limitations would only serve to increase the number of clandestine prostitutes, and because they overstepped the bounds of "provisional measures." Members also rebuffed a proposal that only women who had previously been under vice police control for six months be permitted to take up work in a brothel. In its place were stipulations concerning the rigor with which the rules about issuing a minor a health book were to be followed.

Other proposals to protect prostitutes included requiring them to register and unregister personally with the police, and not in the presence of the woman who provided their housing. (Brothel keeping in Vienna, Trieste, and some of the Monarchy's other cities was solely a female occupation.) In addition to protecting prostitutes from brothel keepers, the measure was meant to prevent inaccurately completed forms: Prostitutes were to be warned, when filling out the obligatory questionnaire that accompanied registration, of the criminal consequences of lying on it. Errors in Austrian prostitution records continued, probably the result of a combination of careless police recording and some prostitute dissimulation. Personal,

[14] No more brothels were opened in Vienna after the Riehl establishment was closed in mid-1906. There remained eight brothels in Vienna into the First World War: seven shown on Map 1, together with one in the Sixteenth District.

[15] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 6033/06, Aufnahmeschrift.

[16] The age of majority for women remained twenty-four until the end of the Monarchy, dropping to twenty-one in the Republic of Austria on 12 February 1919.

independent removal of her name from the prostitution registry would offer police the opportunity to ask a departing woman about her experience in the brothel.

As part of the rigorous registration process, a potential regulated prostitute, together with the relevant police official, was to respond precisely to the detailed eighteen-point questionnaire to obtain a health book. Among the personal information it required was the woman's name and family name, her date and place of birth, her *Zuständigkeitsort*, date of *Zuständigkeit* documents, her religion, level of education, previous occupation, residence, and previous residence. (*Zuständigkeit*/*Heimatzuständigkeit* refers to the jurisdiction where Habsburg citizens were registered and which was responsible for their insurance and poor relief.[17]) The questionnaire also required parents' names, profession, their place of residence, and guardian information if the parents were deceased. Concerns about morals and fears of minors being victims of panderers were reflected in the requirement that if the female in question were a minor or a married woman, the parents or guardian in the case of the former, and the husband in case of the latter, were to be informed immediately of her decision to register with police. The potential prostitute was also queried as to why she wanted to become a prostitute, as well as if and where she had previously been registered with the police. The police completing the forms often provided the woman's motive for becoming a prostitute. *Arbeitsscheu* (work shy) and/or *leichtsinnig* (reckless; thoughtless) were common responses, which reflected police opinion not only in Austria but also Germany.[18] There was a single question about the applicant's health: had she previously had venereal disease, and if so, when, and where had she been living at the time? Lastly, reflecting the assumption of connection between criminality and prostitution, a potential regulated prostitute was asked if she had been arrested for clandestine prostitution or other crimes.[19] Neither a record of petty crime nor arrests for clandestine prostitution prevented registration. Women registering as prostitutes were to read carefully and sign the additional protocol, which contained basic information about the prostitute and a list of local regulations and prohibitions, including the obligatory twice-weekly medical examinations.

If a minor's "moral depravity" had yet to be "proven" by previous arrests for clandestine prostitution and the like, she could be issued a health book only with the agreement of the appropriate *Pflegschaftsbehörde* (guardian officials). These responsible adults were to be informed immediately, irrespective of the minor's *Zuständigkeit* or citizenship. Police also recommended that a minor's request for a health book be granted only with the agreement of the Austrian League against the White Slave Trade (the Liga) or other "similarly thinking" reform organizations whose representatives would attempt to talk the girl in question out of registering

[17] From 1863, all Habsburg residents had *Heimatsrecht/Zuständigkeitsrecht*, which was often, but not always, the same location as their place of birth. The term, whose earliest antecedents date to 1754, in the constitutional era refers to rights and obligations each citizen had to a particular community, where s/he had a right to undisturbed residence and poor relief, among other things. Felix Czeike, ed., *Historisches Lexikon Wien*, vol. III (Vienna: Kremayr & Scheriau, 1994), 121.

[18] Dickinson, *Sex, Freedom, and Power in Imperial Germany*, 11.

[19] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 633/06, k.k. Polizei-Direktion Wien, Fragebogen anlässlich der Ausfolgung eines Gesundheitsbuches.

with the police and into getting a "respectable" job instead.[20] (This seems to have been the only response to Bienerth's suggestion of enabling prostitutes' transition to another trade.) Lastly, the prostitute was to provide three pictures of herself: one for the health book and two for the questionnaires.

The police registration forms were broadly similar throughout Austria. Police used the information gleaned from them to verify the women's criminal and health records with police in municipalities where they had previously been registered as prostitutes, or to obtain their arrest records. These forms remained in use until the end of the Monarchy and even afterward in some of the successor states.

No other working-class profession was so well documented as regulated prostitution. Police registers contained the women's personal details, with police inspections adding miscellaneous information on their daily lives, and physicians in service of the police providing health information, often over a long period.[21] That is why Lemberg dermatologist-venereologist and police physician Jan Papée considered tolerated prostitutes such useful subjects for observing syphilis.[22]

Seeking to quell public anger and prevent repetition of abuses by brothel keepers on the one hand and police supervisory personnel on the other, the Viennese police commissioner issued a temporary decree regulating prostitution on 14 November.[23] Its provisions, most of which would be incorporated in the 1911 regulations, reflected the police advisory committee's concern about surveillance of brothels to protect prostitutes from exploitation in a way that also helped the police maintain control over tolerated prostitutes. The age for issuing a health book would be raised from sixteen to eighteen, minors were to be discouraged from becoming discreet prostitutes, and when police encountered an underage clandestine prostitute, they were to immediately inform her adult guardians.[24]

[20] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 6033/06, k.k. Polizei-Direktion Wien, Aufnahmeschrift, 13 November 1906.

[21] Charles Bernheimer makes this point regarding Alexandre Parent-Duchâtelet's interest in bordello-based prostitutes, *Figures of Ill Repute: Representing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century France* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1989), 16. In "Die Syphilis unter den Prostituierten in Lemberg," *Archiv für Dermatologie und Syphilis* 89/1 (1908): 93–112, Papée wrote that most prostitutes became infected quickly, and some of the women he observed remained infected as long as three years. One quarter of the women registering as prostitutes in Lemberg already suffered from venereal disease; 37 percent of them were under twenty years old, and 42 percent were between the ages of twenty and twenty-five. The number of infected among the prostitutes who had regular examinations was only slightly higher than that of the prostitutes who were only randomly examined. On the medicalization of prostitution in partitioned Poland, see Keely Stauter-Halsted, "The Physician and the Fallen Woman: Medicalizing Prostitution in the Polish Lands," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 20/2 (May 2011): 270–90.

[22] Specialists, including French dermatologist Jean Alfred Fournier, director of the venereal section of the Hôpital Saint-Louis in Paris and that country's first syphilologist, also observed that younger prostitutes were relatively more likely to become infected, or that their infections might be more severe. On Fournier, see Mary Spongberg, *Feminizing Venereal Disease: The Body of the Prostitute in Nineteenth-Century Medical Discourse* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 148–52.

[23] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2122, 32921/07, Ministerpräsident betreffend die Neuregelung der Prostitutionsüberwachung.

[24] On discreet prostitutes, LPDW, PM, 1906/2,"Instruction für die polizeiliche Überwachung der Prostitution," *Amtsblatt der k.k. Polizei-Direktion*, Part VII, Sections 33–35, 9–10; Vom Präsidium des k.k. Oberlandesgerichtes in Wien, 30 January 1907. See also Jušek, *Auf der Suche nach der Verlorenen*, 128.

The decree also mandated the increased surveillance of brothels that the police had proposed. A team consisting of police prostitution experts, a police physician, and a police agent was to conduct the inspections. Merta, for example, would be a regular member of the First District's medical team for the duration of the Monarchy. The inspection team was to issue a report of each visit, providing the name of the brothel keeper and the number of prostitutes who were resident there, each identified by name, age, and *Heimatzuständigkeit*. Responding to accusations made in the Riehl trial, the team was also to evaluate the prostitutes' living quarters. Police were to note any problems with the prostitutes' accommodations and resolve them immediately, although the means of resolution was not specified. They were also to interview the prostitutes individually and to question them "seriously" concerning any complaints the women might have regarding their possible exploitation or other ill-treatment at the hands of the brothel keeper. Inspections had begun on 11 November.

In addition to the monthly inspections, the police were to undertake extra-thorough investigations of each brothel at least semi-annually. The results of these investigations were to be brought to the attention of the police superintendent. These inspections might occur at any hour of the day or night.[25] They were deemed necessary because the furor over the Riehl trial, and continuing discussion of prostitution in some Viennese dailies and weeklies, kept exploitation of brothel prostitutes in the public consciousness. As the *Wiener Kriminal- und Detektiv-Zeitung* noted, despite increased interest in prostitution—"People seek them out to hear the 'truth' from them. On the street, in the night cafés [among the places where clandestine and independent prostitutes often found potential clients], and in bed, they are studied."—prostitutes were still exploited.[26] The vice police sought to demonstrate that this was not the case.

Even as the police and the Lower Austrian commissions were holding discussions, senior police physician Merta analyzed the existing "Instruction for the Police Supervision of Prostitution" in an undated report from late 1906 or early 1907, in which he laid out the benefits and disadvantages of brothel-based prostitution. He employed data from 1900 through 1905, showing that the number of regulated prostitutes, brothel and independent, had dropped 16 percent between 1900 and December 1905 (Table 2.1). This decreasing number, Merta wrote, owed both to the far lower number of women registering with the vice police and to the large number of women removing themselves from the register.

Among the reasons for this decline, Merta asserted, were the provisions of the 1900 prostitution document: They were too stringent. He cited particularly the sections addressing independent, regulated prostitutes' accommodations, which set conditions whose strict interpretation made these women's living situation almost impossible. The lack of available housing in the imperial capital limited the number of registered, independent prostitutes. Because of the attempt to keep prostitutes

[25] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2122, 32921/07, Ministerpräsident betreffend die Neuregelung der Prostitutionsüberwachung.

[26] *Wiener Kriminal- und Detektiv-Zeitung*, 17 November 1906, 3.

Table 2.1. Registered Prostitutes in Vienna

1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905
Total Number of Registered Prostitutes on 31 December					
1780	1721	1709	1601	1579	1478
Total Number of Newly Registered Prostitutes					
319	323	222	218	187	193

Source: ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 6033/07, Wahrnehmungen des Polizei-Chefarztes über die Wirkung der "Instruktion" für die polizeiliche Überwachung der Prostitution, von Jänner 1900.

away from busy public spaces on morals grounds, and because of home owners' and renters' reluctance to live near them, independent prostitutes were forced into housing on Vienna's small, out-of-the-way streets. The women from whom they rented rooms were able to charge them prohibitive rates, sending many of them into clandestine prostitution. The senior police physician urged that the granting of housing permission for independent prostitutes be undertaken on a case-by-case basis, because, as he noted, some prostitutes' behavior never gave rise to complaint, while others made themselves unwelcome in even the remotest corner of the city.

A second factor affecting the number of regulated prostitutes in the imperial capital, which Merta wrote could not be ignored, was the "prudishness" of the local population. The very existence of regulated prostitution, even when it was inconspicuous, offended many Viennese, while they tolerated clandestine prostitution, if it appeared under a "decent" guise. "Experience has taught us [the police]," Merta explained, that in a neighborhood where prostitutes were tolerated, the other residents would assail the authorities with complaints until the prostitutes moved out or returned their health books. If these women then became masseuses or flower girls, or took up another of the low-wage occupations believed to be covers for clandestine prostitutes, but remained at the same residence, and then "had male visitors," that is, practiced clandestine prostitution, the neighbors would not be offended.[27] Viennese police reported complaints about the concentration of prostitutes on particular streets or in particular neighborhoods, and that entire buildings were given over to prostitutes.[28] In fact, vice police sometimes sought to limit, often with the encouragement of the neighbors, but not without opposition from their landladies, the number of independent prostitutes who could live in the same building or on the same street.

Merta considered brothels the most effective way to deal with prostitution from a moral and a hygienic standpoint, although he regarded the system as "totally

[27] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 6033/07, Wahrnehmungen des Polizei-Chefarztes über die Wirkung der "Instruktion" für die polizeiliche Überwachung der Prostitution" von Jänner 1900.

[28] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, PM, Box 2121, Habrda to k.k. Polizei-Direktion in Wien, 28 February 1906. Even if they did not occupy "entire" buildings, there were certainly buildings in which large numbers of prostitutes lived; see *A-Z* comments in the context of a prostitute murder, 17 July 1911, 5–6.

unworkable" in large cities, especially in the imperial capital. Merta opposed abandoning regulation in Vienna, which he believed helped limit the spread of venereal disease, because brothel prostitutes learned to recognize their symptoms. If the existing "mixed" system of brothel-based and independent prostitutes were to be maintained, he wrote, a team would have to inspect brothels regularly, as the police decree of 14 November mandated.[29] Merta predicted that brothels would play an ever-decreasing role in comparison to independent registered prostitutes. As Baumgarten explained, Viennese prostitutes believed brothels limited "their freedom" and many men refused to use brothels because they feared being recognized.[30]

Addressing moral issues, Merta admitted that it was possible that there was more sexual perversity among clients of brothel prostitutes than among those of independent prostitutes. Without providing evidence, he claimed that regulated prostitution was now for the most part free of sadistic and masochistic perversion, of the oft-mentioned whips and canes that had been the tools of the trade among older prostitutes.

In terms of sexual hygiene, Merta argued that registered prostitutes became accustomed to cleanliness because the vice police had long provided them with detailed instructions on the careful cleansing (*sorgfältige Reinhaltung*) of their bodies before and after sexual relations, on maintaining general hygiene, and on identifying venereal disease in potential clients, thus protecting their own health.[31] Subjected to regular medical examinations, these women learned to request medical help if they had a suspicious illness and to inspect their clients for venereal infection.

Merta cautioned, however, that although it would certainly be a victory for the hygienists if prostitutes voluntarily met all of their health obligations, he considered this "victory" unlikely, because as Peter Baldwin and others have explained, the effects of female syphilis even in its most severe form were not painful, and thus did not hinder sexual intercourse. In addition, the protracted and unpleasant treatments for VD were often more inconvenient and debilitating than the diseases themselves.[32] Prostitutes would fulfill hygienic norms, Merta believed, only if all of their clients demanded proof of their obligatory physicians' examinations. Few men demanded this evidence from tolerated prostitutes, and clandestine prostitutes, he asserted, "knew to attract men through the appearance of decency."[33]

Merta's comments about syphilis reflected contemporary medical understandings of venereal disease. In the late nineteenth century physicians had initially focused on syphilis, which was then endemic in Europe, and which afflicted an

[29] See for example ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, PM, Box 2122, 32921/07, "Die Regelung der Prostitution in Oesterreich," Referat erstattet im Auftrage des k.k. obersten Sanitätsrates von Dr. Ernest Finger, k.k.o.ö Professor der Wiener Universität und des Dr. Anton Baumgarten, k. k. Polizei-Oberkommissär der Polizei-Direktion in Wien.

[30] Anton Baumgarten, "Die Prostitution," in "Die Enquete der Österreichischen Gesellschaft zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten" *Zeitschrift für Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten* (hereafter *ZBG*) 9 (1908): 184.

[31] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, PM, Box 2122, 32921/07, Belehrung (1900).

[32] Baldwin, *Contagion and the State*, 355.

[33] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, PM, Box 2121, 8008/07, Wahrnehmungen des Polizei-Chefarztes über die Wirkung der "Instruktion" für die polizeiliche Überwachung der Prostitution" von Jänner 1900.

estimated 10 percent of urban males.[34] Physicians had long believed that the more common gonorrhea and soft chancre were less likely to cause permanent damage, but medical developments in the new field of bacteriology led them to advocate hospital treatment for all three diseases by the beginning of the twentieth century. Untreated gonorrhea could cause both male and female sterility, as well as miscarriages in women. Although recent medical developments had hastened "recovery" time (the abatement of symptoms), treatment might last from a few days to a few months in the first decade of the twentieth century. German chemist Arthur Eichengrün developed Protargol salve, a compound of albumin and silver, a version of which was used for gonorrhea beginning in 1897 until the widespread availability of antibiotics in the mid-1940s.[35] Thought to be most effective when begun early, the standard treatment for syphilis after the turn of the century was oleum cinereum, a mixture of lanolin, mercury, and olive oil, and mercury continued to be used even after the development of Salvarsan in 1909. This arsenic derivative, developed by the German physician-scientist Paul Ehrlich and marketed by the German pharmaceutical firm Hoechst as a "magic bullet," had significant side effects. Neosalvarsan, which Ehrlich also developed, would replace Salvarsan in 1912. More water soluble and less toxic, Neosalvarsan still had considerable side effects, and its efficacy remained disputed until penicillin replaced it after the Second World War. Indeed, there were conflicting reports from Berlin in 1914 of the drug killing prostitutes who had been forcibly treated with it.[36] Other medical developments, above all August Paul von Wassermann's discovery of an antibody test for syphilis in 1906, despite producing false positives, improved convalescent time in the early twentieth century, although treatment remained expensive.[37]

Viennese proponents of regulation argued that the practice helped to limit the time prostitutes spent in the hospital and thus number of days the lost from "work," because tolerated prostitutes were compelled to stop having sexual relations when they were found to have venereal disease and enter the hospital immediately.

[34] Baldwin, *Contagion and the State*, 355, 358.

[35] LPDW, PM, 1907/1 contains material from a late 1907 *Österreichische Gesellschaft zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten* survey of Viennese police stations that addressed issues of prostitution, including numbers of prostitutes who got venereal diseases and the length of their hospital stays. See Claude Quétel, *History of Syphilis*, trans. Judith Braddock and Brian Pike (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), especially 140–3; and Bernstein's descripion of mercury's unpleasant side effects in *Sonia's Daughters*, 66–7. For discussions of fin-de-siècle advances in the study of venereal diseases, see Baldwin, *Contagion and the State*, 374–5; Mary Gibson, *Prostitution and the State in Italy, 1860–1915*, second edn. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999), 161–6; and Manfred Vasold, *Grippe, Pest und Cholera. Eine Geschichte der Seuchen in Europa* (Stuttgart: Steiner Franz Verlag, 2008), 231. While hospital stays for syphilis dropped from about thirty days to 19.5 days between 1908 and 1910, the treatment remained expensive and in some cases lasted much longer.

[36] See Dagmar Herzog, *Sexuality in Europe: A Twentieth-Century History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 8; on its efficacy; the *A-Z*, 16 April 1914, 5; and *PT*, 30 May 1914, 4, on prostitutes in Berlin.

[37] Fèlix Bosch and L. Rosich, "The Contributions of Paul Ehrlich to Pharmacology: A Tribute on the Occasion of the Centenary of his Nobel Prize," *Pharmacology* 82/3 (2008): 177–9; and Vasold, *Grippe, Pest und Cholera*, 231.

This was in contrast to clandestine prostitutes, who might long continue to engage in commercial sex even though they were infected. In 1906, the average hospital stay for Vienna's regulated prostitutes was 20 days for gonorrhea and 26 days for chancre and syphilis. Moreover, the number of venereal disease cases recorded was decreasing, in part because fewer women were registering with the police.

Although Merta advocated regulation, his analysis reflects a certain ambivalence toward Viennese brothel prostitution. While the chief police physician believed that brothel-based prostitution was effective from a moral and hygienic viewpoint, because it kept prostitutes off the street and enabled their regular examinations, he also recognized that this form of prostitution did not work in Vienna, except for one element: police physicians were able to force tolerated prostitutes found to have venereal disease into hospital care for the duration of their illness. Moreover, Merta believed that regular examinations played a pedagogic role for the prostitutes, teaching them basic sexual hygiene, an issue that was attracting increased attention from Austrian advocates of sex education.[38]

THE LOWER AUSTRIAN "PROSTITUTION COMMISSION"

A cartoon entitled "The Study of Prostitution," spread over the entire front page of the 25 November 1906 edition of *Wiener Caricaturen*, showed a busty prostitute clad only in her petticoat facing down four jurists across a table with the comment: "Gentlemen, I would like to make a very reasonable suggestion: shall we avoid carrying out our studies in the girls' dwelling?"[39] This image made clear that the Lower Austrian provincial governor's recent appointment of a commission to study the problem of prostitution and prevent a repetition of the situation described in the Riehl trial had not escaped popular notice. It also suggests some degree of lewdness in the entire undertaking, because perhaps even these gentlemen or their colleagues might frequent, or had frequented, Vienna's brothels.

The prostitution commission, which was also meant to prevent a repetition of the Riehl events, met just after the trial ended on 9 November 1906 and again the following January. The commission, in which Baumgarten and Merta participated, provided provincial officials—including representatives of the appeals court, the senior public prosecutor, the provincial council, the provincial health board, and the Vienna hospitals, whose portfolios involved interaction with prostitutes—the opportunity to propose changes to the rules governing regulation of prostitution.[40] Viennese municipal authorities declined to take part in the commission because

[38] As Britta McEwen explains in *Sexual Knowledge: Feeling, Fact and Social Reform in Vienna, 1900–1934* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), 56–7, sex education in imperial Austria was overwhelmingly directed at males.

[39] Meine Herren, ich hätte Ihnen einen sehr vernünftigen Vorschlag zu machen: Könnten wir unsere Untersuchungen nicht in der Wohnung der Kleinen fortsetzen? "Die Enquete über die Prostitution," *Wiener Caricaturen* 16/47 (25 November 1906): 1.

[40] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 32921/07, Anträge der bei der n.ö. Statthalterei eingesetzten Prostitutionskommission.

prostitution did not fall within their sphere of activity, but within that of the Police Directorate. Drawing on the earlier police report as well as a joint memorandum from the reformist Liga, whose members had played an important role in uncovering the Riehl affair, and the Zentralverband der Wiener Waisenräte (Central Association of the Viennese Orphan Councils), which focused on protecting minors from becoming prostitutes,[41] commission members sought to produce a document that could serve as an example of reform for the rest of Austria.[42]

Participants focused on the situation in Vienna, because responses from *Bezirk* (district) leaders made it apparent that prostitution played a relatively insignificant role in the Lower Austrian countryside. They recognized the "evils" associated with brothel prostitution, a long list of offensive behavior that included pandering and trafficking, enticing minors, exploiting prostitutes, abuse of alcohol, and coercion to perversity, all problems raised at the Riehl trial. Although the commission entertained various proposals for improving the regulation of prostitution, members remained convinced that brothels had clear moral and hygienic advantages over the individual tolerated prostitute and the streetwalker who together with her pimp so annoyed the bourgeois residents of the imperial capital, despite some police assertions that brothels did not work in Vienna.[43]

At their 15 January 1907 meeting, commission members focused on three main issues: 1) the welfare of young women who sought to be placed under vice police supervision; 2) delegating responsibility for administration of prostitutes' obligatory health examinations; and, in contrast to the police, who did not address this issue, 3) treating prostitutes with venereal disease. The last two points reflected ongoing concerns at the fin de siècle about prostitutes, popularly considered the main and most accessible link in the chain of transmission, as a source of venereal disease rather than as victims of it. The concerns about the effectiveness of Viennese prostitutes' often cursory bi-weekly gynecological examinations, which were estimated to last between ninety seconds and fifteen minutes, also demonstrated, as in Germany, a transition in attitude toward venereal disease among many specialists from moralizing to pragmatic.[44] The brief time some Viennese police physicians, like those elsewhere in Europe, spent examining prostitutes may also have accounted for their relative ineffectiveness. Conditions had, however, improved in most places since the late nineteenth century, when there had been assertions that careless examinations—for example, the failure to use antiseptic to clean the specula—actually infected some women rather than finding infections.[45]

[41] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2122, Denkschrift addressed to k.k. Ministerium des Innern, n.d. received at the Ministry, 24 November 1906.

[42] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 8008/07, to k.k. Minister des Innern, 8 November 1906.

[43] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 6033/07, k.k. niederösterreichische Statthalterei to k.k. Ministerium des Innern, 4 February 1907; and Box 2122, 32921/07, Ministerpräsident betreffend die Neuregelung der Prostitutionsüberwachung, 28 November 1907.

[44] Lutz D.H. Sauerteig, "The Fatherland is in Danger; save the Fatherland!" in *Sex, Sin, and Suffering: Venereal Disease and European Society since 1870*, Roger Davidson and Lesley A. Hall, eds. (New York: Routledge, 2001), 78.

[45] Jušek, *Auf der Suche nach der Verlorenen*, 116.

The commission considered the role of the police physicians when it dealt with an issue that the police had not addressed: the interlinked issues of where these men were to examine the prostitutes and who would bear the cost. Participants agreed that medical examinations of prostitutes in their residences, as had occurred at Riehl's, were inappropriate, although at least one Viennese brothel, Antonie Brady's establishment at Bäckerstraße 16 in the First District, had an examination room on the premises. When one member sought to have prostitutes examined elsewhere and for the Police Directorate to take over payments to police physicians rather than having the prostitutes pay the physicians directly,[46] Merta pointed out that the "better" prostitutes were unlikely to be willing to give up being examined in their own residences.

The commission chair raised the issue of the projected cost of providing and maintaining examination facilities in Vienna, which was estimated to be at least 100,000 crowns annually. The estimated cost of maintaining facilities in other large cities with tolerated prostitutes, including Cracow, Czernowitz, Lemberg, Prague, and Trieste, was 70,000 to 80,000 crowns annually. In any case, among the larger Austrian cities, only Vienna and Prague, the provincial capital of Bohemia, had a sufficient number of police physicians to undertake the regular examination of prostitutes. Elsewhere, private physicians handled this task, as had been the case in Vienna until a scandal in 1875 when it was discovered that physicians could be bribed to declare a public woman venereally healthy without examining her.[47] The commission recommended that responsibility for the examination costs for tolerated prostitutes be transferred to the police and that the Viennese prostitution regulations be revised accordingly.

The commission's final report, dated 27 January 1907, recommended maintaining the existing mixed system of regulation, although members considered brothel-based prostitutes preferable to independent prostitutes. The report commented that physicians should not, as a rule, examine prostitutes in their own dwellings, and that the existing honorarium system should be opposed on moral and ethical grounds. Commission members agreed to raise the age to eighteen for issuing the obligatory health book to tolerated prostitutes. Like the police, commission members advocated encouraging and supporting parents, guardians, the *Pflegschaftsgericht* (Family Court), and members of the relevant welfare organizations to prevail upon underage females to follow "an orderly way of life." Minors were to be placed under police control only after lengthy attempts to encourage them to follow a "proper" life path had failed. This attitude reflected thinking common throughout much of Europe: that fathers should control their daughters' sexuality, and the state should intervene only if they could not. Commission members observed that concern for the welfare of minors should not go so far as to discourage these

[46] NÖLA, NÖ Statthalterei, Reg. Z., XIV, 204a, 1907, Verhandlungschrift aufgenommen bei der k.k.n.ö. Statthalterei in Wien, 15 January 1907 for Hofrat (councilor) Karl Brzesowsky's proposal.

[47] The swindle was uncovered when police physicians examined prostitutes who had come in contact with police owing to some offense, and discovered that one of the women had a long-time venereal infection despite the fact that a physician had declared her healthy. Jušek, *Auf der Suche nach der Verlorenen*, 115–16.

young women from placing themselves under police supervision, if they wanted to become prostitutes.[48]

Viennese physicians continued to examine prostitutes in the women's lodgings, in brothel examination rooms, in physicians' offices, and at police headquarters until 1911, when the new police regulations finally removed the examinations from brothels. This kind of change was meant to be part of a unified, general system across Austria which never came to fruition. It was little discussed outside of Vienna.

Commission members underscored the need for police and physicians to be able to deliver any prostitute found to have venereal disease to the hospital immediately, and for her to remain there until she had "recovered." Compulsory hospitalization, they asserted, was an essential prerequisite for maintaining prostitution regulations, because prostitutes might not go to be treated of their own volition. As in France, Italy, Russia, and elsewhere, there was not always sufficient space for prostitutes in Vienna's hospitals with divisions for treating venereal disease. There was also a shortage of beds in Prague and Trieste as well as provincial cities like Reichenberg in northern Bohemia. Prostitutes were in any case neither always welcome in hospitals nor treated like other patients. Thus, the commission members advocated the construction of a hospital dedicated to the care of prostitutes, a project that was not realized during the Monarchy because the necessary funds were lacking. Members also wanted those few prostitutes who remained infectious—even if to "a lesser extent"—after having been released from the hospital to be provided ambulatory care under the supervision of a police physician.[49] (After their release from the hospital, all Lemberg prostitutes underwent ambulatory treatment.[50])

Finally, the commission agreed that the regulation of prostitution in Austria, in contrast to Italy and elsewhere, rested on improvised legal foundations,[51] including paragraph 5 of the 24 May 1885 law, which stated that the police had the "right, but not the obligation" to punish prostitution. What that meant in practice was that prostitution was not legally permitted, but police officials did not have to apply criminal law to those prostitutes who registered with them. Since prostitution as such still remained punishable under the 1885 law, somewhat in contradiction with subsequent provisions, the commission proposed that the law be amended to include the clear statement that the regulation of prostitution was in the hands of the security services, in most cases, the vice police.[52] The complaint about

[48] NÖLA, NÖ Statthalterei, Reg. Z., XIV, 204a, 1907, Schlußbericht der zum Studium der Prostitutionsfrage bei der k.k.n.ö. Statthalterei eingesetzten Kommission, 27 January 1907.

[49] NÖLA, NÖ Statthalterei, Reg. Z., XIV, 204a, 1907, Schlußbericht, 27 January 1907. On the facilities for treating prostitutes with venereal disease in France, see Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 87–97.

[50] Anton Baumgarten, "Die Prostitution," in "Die Enquete der ÖGBG,"169.

[51] While the Cavour Decree clearly laid out the foundations for toleration in Italy, regulations in France and a number of other countries were not standardized; Baldwin, *Contagion and the State*, 363–7; and Gibson, *Prostitution and the State in Italy*, 27–34; 53–5.

[52] NÖLA, NÖ Statthalerei, Reg. Z., XIV, 204a, 1907, Schlußbericht der zum Studium der Prostitutionsfrage bei der k.k.n.ö. Statthalterei eingesetzten Kommission, 27 January 1907. A copy of the Schlußbericht, with the governor's cover letter, is also in ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 6033/07, k.k. niederösterreichische Statthalterei to k.k. Ministerium des Innern, 4 February 1907.

"improvised legal foundations" would be repeatedly raised in the discussions about regulation in Vienna and elsewhere in Cisleithanian Austria.

The prostitution commission's proposals, together with the police report and the Liga-Zentralverband memorandum, were included in a much larger document on the reform of regulation that the Minister President issued in late November 1907, more than one year after the Riehl trial. The document contained brief synopses of the information sent from the other Austrian provinces except Galicia, the sole province not to have responded by that time, despite repeated entreaties. It also included opinions from the governor of Lower Austria, who supported his commission's report; the Minister President, who considered the prostitution commission report too limited and made his own suggestions; and the Finance and Justice Ministries. The last two addressed existing practice vis-à-vis the tolerated prostitutes, explaining the rejection of several of the commission's proposals, some of which were unworkable within Austria's existing legal system.[53] Other proposals were excluded because they were simply too expensive. The Finance Ministry agreed that placing the uncompensated examination of tolerated prostitutes in the sphere of police physician obligations represented both a substantive material loss and an increased workload for these men. Thus, the Ministry supported the relocation of police-physician examination of prostitutes to a site outside the police offices, and that the costs for this structure and the police *Honoria* be turned over to the budget for public safety. One official even proposed that the *Prostitutionsreferat* (prostitution division or vice police) of the various police departments exclude younger members of the force, which speaks volumes about perceptions of prostitute seduction practices and the role age played with those men coming in to contact with women who engaged in commercial sex. This report and related correspondence showed that the central government was addressing proposals to improve regulation, and that any changes would not include abandoning it. It also reveals the outline of the future police instructions.[54]

Other voluntary organizations in addition to the Liga weighed in on prostitution reform. Believing, as did other European abolitionist groups, that toleration both demanded and legitimated immorality, the Bund Österreichischer Frauenvereine (National Council of Women, the bourgeois women's organization founded in 1902) submitted a petition opposing all attempts to legalize prostitution as well as demanding the repeal of ordinances that addressed tolerated brothels and health books. This group also sought the establishment of a standing parliamentary commission, like the one that had existed in France since 1904, to study the prostitution question. (Another women's organization, the anticlerical Allgemeiner Österreichischer Frauenverein in Wien [General Austrian Women's Association in Vienna], which was primarily dedicated to expanding women's educational

[53] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2122, 2417/08, Justizministerium ad Z. 32921 ex 1907 betreffend die Neuregelung der Prostitutionsüberwachung, Schaffung öffentlicher Häuser unter kommunaler Aufsicht to the Minister Präsident.

[54] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2122, 32921/07, Ministerpräsident betreffend die Neuregelung der Prostitutionsüberwachung, 28 November 1907.

opportunities, had previously submitted a petition opposing the establishment of brothels to the Reichsrat in April 1894.)[55]

Finally, individuals also made proposals to reform regulation. They included an attorney from Dresden, the capital of Saxony, who suggested that prostitutes be permitted to live wherever they chose, but that they be obliged to practice their trade in police-registered *Stundenhotels* (hotels where rooms could be rented by the hour, often synonymous with prostitution); and an employee of the Central Taxi Office, who suggested a thirty-Heller duty on the stamp each prostitute received in her health book at the bi-weekly examinations. By his reckoning, the estimated income from the 20,000 tolerated prostitutes in Austria would provide sufficient funds to construct a syphilis hospital.[56]

An article in the 15 December 1907 issue of the *Wiener Medizinische Presse*, a newspaper for general practitioners, indicated the medical establishment's continued support for regulation. It discussed the findings of a comprehensive study the K.k. Gesellschaft der Ärzte (Imperial and Royal Society of Physicians) had initiated on the prevention of the spread of venereal disease in November 1906. The creation of health insurance funds and the monitoring of prostitutes, in the committee's opinion, offered the possibility of controlling the majority of VD cases. The study's other conclusions largely paralleled those of the Lower Austrian commission: prostitution, if appropriately monitored, was far less dangerous than clandestine prostitution, because any diseased tolerated prostitute was forced into treatment and prohibited from engaging in commercial sex for the duration of her infection. She was thus prevented from spreading venereal disease. Moreover, according to the study, physicians should not examine prostitutes in the women's own dwellings, but rather in specially equipped rooms or in their own offices, and finally, the "officials," rather than the prostitute or the brothel keeper, should pay the examining physician. The last proposal was meant to prevent the physician from being demeaned by accepting money from someone engaged in non-legal activity.[57]

The vice police who dealt with the women being registered and whose reputation had been besmirched by the Riehl scandal sought measures to enable better functioning of the system, while civilian members of the Lower Austrian commission were also interested in protecting public morals and public hygiene. Both were concerned about raising the age at which health books were issued, protecting the police from accusations of girls being maltreated at the hands of brothel keepers, and protecting girls' morals. Only the abolitionists went beyond the limited measures meant to resolve issues raised in the Riehl trial and addressed the broader issue of whether prostitution should be tolerated at all.

[55] "Euer Excellenz," *Der Bund* 2/1 (1907): 7–8. On the Austrian bourgeois women's movement and prostitution at the turn of the century, see Jušek, *Auf der Suche nach der Verlorenen*, 141–79; and McEwen, *Sexual Knowledge*, 15–16.

[56] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2122, 32921/07, Ministerpräsident betreffend die Neuregelung der Prostitutionsüberwachung.

[57] LPDW, PM, 1906/2, "Prophylaxe der Ausbreitung der venerischen Erkrankungen," *Wiener Medizinischen Presse*, 15 December 1907, n.p.

POLICING BROTHELS IN POST-RIEHL VIENNA

Following the Riehl trial, some journalists asserted that vice police who might have formerly participated in—or simply ignored—illegal behavior connected to regulation had now become "moral" because the benefits they accrued from turning a blind eye—payoffs from brothel keepers, and sexual access to the prostitutes free of charge—had ceased.[58] Archival records postdating the trial demonstrate vice police adherence to the November 1906 decree in their ongoing inspection of Vienna brothels and their attention to prostitutes' physical well-being and brothel conditions. Their supervision of prostitutes involved Viennese vice police in many aspects of brothel life. During inspections, the police observed and recorded prostitutes' physical condition, noting bruises that prostitutes described as pinches and "love bites" at the hands of their clients, or less often as the result of tripping and falling, as well as how many prostitutes had been hospitalized. The police also commented on the temporary absences of women during brothel inspection, indicating that they were not "enslaved," as had ostensibly been the case with the women in the Riehl establishment.

The largest number of tolerated prostitutes in Vienna lived in the central police precinct, which also housed the most high-end brothels, followed by several other inner police precincts, including Leopoldstadt (Second District), Neubau (Seventh District), and Alsergrund (Ninth District). The number of Viennese brothels with between five and fifteen prostitutes had been decreasing since the turn of the century. At the end of November 1906, 1,430 women were registered as prostitutes in Vienna, down from 1,478 at the end of the previous year. Eighty-five of the women lived in the city's eight brothels. The number of tolerated prostitutes would drop to 1,422 by the end of the year, but rise again in 1907, reaching a twentieth-century high of 1,873 in 1913.[59]

Because her brothel's sleeping quarters lacked proper ventilation, Marie Wischatta had been forced to reduce the number of tolerated prostitutes living at Hafnersteig 10 in the First District in late 1906. Since Wischatta would be housing fewer than five prostitutes, her establishment would no longer be considered a brothel for the purposes of bi-weekly inspections, as explained in a police note that December to the Lower Austrian government regarding the forced reduction in number of prostitutes.[60]

Viennese vice police noted various infractions in the operation of the brothels, including keepers' continued failure to have properly registered prostitutes' initial entry into, and departure from, their brothels. In addition to descriptions of the women's health, the reports reveal a range of information about material conditions

[58] *Illustrierte Oesterreichische Kriminal-Zeitung*, 2 September 1907, 5.

[59] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2122, 32921/07, Ministerpräsident betreffend die Neuregelung der Prostitutionsüberwachung. Von sämtlichen Landesstellen m/Ausnahme jener v. Lemberg liegen Berichte zum Gegenstande vor. Nachstehend die hauptsächlichen Daten über die Verhältnisse in den einzelnen Ländern u. die v. den Behörden gegebenen Anregungen; LPDW, PM, 1907/2, "Übersichtstabelle."

[60] NÖLA, NÖ Statthalterei, Reg. Z., XIV, 204a, letter of 10 December 1906.

in brothels in the era of rapid modernization, including which establishments had already made the change from oil lamps to electricity for lighting, which needed to be refurbished, and information on ventilation. They also described the widely varying kinds of toilet facilities (including flush toilets) available, at a time when the vast majority of working-class housing had neither gas nor electricity nor running water nor toilets.[61] Vice police remained concerned about the overcrowding of prostitutes' sleeping quarters, another issue that had been raised at the Riehl trial. Those who inspected the establishments of Angela Wallenstein and Crescentia Wolkenstein in the First District asserted that their otherwise well-kept brothels provided prostitutes insufficiently healthy living quarters, because they lacked proper ventilation.[62]

Angela Wallenstein's premises at Köllnerhofgasse 5 were the subject of a detailed 10 November 1906 report. Complete with "luxuriously appointed reception rooms," they were located on a small street a few steps from the Fleischmarkt and Rotenturmstrasse. According to police the prostitutes slept in beds lined up as in a barracks, with too many beds per room in her otherwise clean, well-lit, well-cared-for, and well-ventilated establishment. Vice police also informed Wallenstein that security measures at her brothel created a situation detrimental to the health of her prostitute-residents and limited their freedom of movement.[63] Their main interest was the prostitutes' access to sufficient fresh air.

In her appeal of a 12 January 1907 police order, Wallenstein responded to police concerns. The brothel madam noted that she had changed the offending window locks about which police complained. She also asserted that the barred doors and windows had been in place at the brothel for a decade without any complaints from the residents. She explained that the barred doors were not meant to prevent the brothel's occupants from leaving—they all had access to the key to the second-floor door. Rather, Wallenstein claimed that the iron grills on the second-, third-, and fourth-floor exit doors were meant to protect them from "annoying guests, thugs, and muckrakers." (The last, possibly, a reference to Emil Bader, the journalist who had broken the Riehl story, or Liga "informants," since the organization regularly complained to the police about conditions in brothels.) Moreover, if residents chose not to leave the house by the first-floor exit, they could use the key to let themselves out using the second-floor door. The barred doors were an absolutely necessary security measure, Wallenstein claimed. They shielded the prostitutes from shady characters in the neighborhood and protected them, because the amount of time it took for police to arrive in cases of emergency varied wildly. Wallenstein would gladly comply with the police order of 1 December 1906, she asserted, if she were not also concerned about security of property and persons.[64]

[61] Eve Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna, 1919–1934* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999), 77.

[62] LPDW, PM, 1907/1; and LPDW, PM, 1907/2, 19 February 1907 on removal of bars from windows and proper ventilation.

[63] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2122.

[64] LPDW, PM, 1906/2, Angela Wallenstein to the k.k. Polizei-Kommissariat, Vorstellung eventuell Rekurs, 26 January 1907.

Wallenstein offered a spirited defense of her brothel, whose conditions the police had described in such detail. She focused especially on the prostitutes' quarters, comparing them favorably to the housing of petit-bourgeois families or even those of officials, whom she said would be "delighted" to have such nice living quarters. Wallenstein asserted that the rooms were large, high-ceilinged, and well-lit. Moreover, the rooms had all of the necessary conveniences. The bedrooms whose possible lack of fresh air had concerned the police were not occupied during the day, she noted. They were used only for sleeping. There was more than sufficient space for seventeen residents in the brothel, although the number of prostitutes working there was seldom that high. According to Wallenstein, police had examined the brothel very carefully, and failed to find evidence of any attempted illegal limitation of prostitutes' freedom. Wallenstein reminded the police that since the Riehl trial, prostitutes "everywhere" knew their rights and obligations because the police informed them about them in great detail during their regular inspections.[65] The provincial government left any decision concerning the number of prostitutes to be tolerated, as well as what to do with the iron doors and the grills on the windows, to the discretion of the Police Directorate.[66] The records do not reveal the resolution of the complaint, and Wallenstein sold the brothel in December 1907.[67]

In March 1907, Crescentia Wolkenstein responded to a police order informing her that henceforth she was permitted to house only seven prostitutes in her brothel at Färbergasse 3 near Am Hof, one of the busiest squares in the city, and home to the Kriegsministerium (Ministry of War). Wolkenstein's brothel was less posh than some of the others in the First District. Only the owner had use of the "nice" bathroom, according to police reports, although the toilets used by the other residents were clean. Wolkenstein asserted that she would face an intolerable property tax burden if she were unable to run her business at its present level with a maximum of twelve prostitutes. Wolkenstein claimed she followed vice police regulations and maintained proper hygienic levels in her building. Moreover, she did not exploit the prostitutes whom she employed. In addition to providing a to-scale floor plan of the brothel, she described in detail her older building, which had eight bedrooms, a kitchen, a foyer, and adjacent spaces. Wolkenstein, together with her maid, who slept in the "spacious" foyer, were the only two people other than the prostitutes living in the building. The madam herself slept in room number 8, which also functioned as the "nice" bathroom, thus leaving the prostitutes seven rooms, some of which were large enough to sleep three, to use as bedrooms during the night. Wolkenstein asserted that there was sufficient space for

[65] LPDW, PM, 1906/2, Angela Wallenstein to the k.k. Polizei-Kommissariat, 26 January 1907.

[66] LPDW, PM, 1907/2, to the k.k. Polizeidirektion, 19 February 1907.

[67] The brothel changed hands again in September 1910 when Julie Blechner, who had purchased it from Wallenstein, found "the sleepless nights" attached to running a brothel adversely affecting her health. Anastasia Fried, who bought the brothel, kept it open during the First World War when it housed an average of twelve prostitutes; see Chapter Six. LPDW, PM, 1910/1, to the k.k Polizeidirektion Wien . . . um Genehmigung der Uebertragung des geschlossenes Hauses I. Köllnerhofgasse 5.

fourteen prostitutes to live in the brothel under hygienic conditions because the brothel did not take clients after curfew. Only exceptionally were there overnight male guests in rooms one through three.

Referring, like Wallenstein, to the Riehl trial, Wolkenstein commented on the "contemporary tendency" to attempt to improve the living situation of tolerated prostitutes. Again, like Wallenstein, she compared the prostitutes' living quarters favorably to those of members of the bourgeoisie, noting that given the size and amenities of her brothel, the prostitutes there were better housed than many children from bourgeois families. (To be sure, they were better housed than were entire working-class families, as regular newspaper exposés on Vienna's lack of housing revealed.[68]) Thus, Wolkenstein sought permission to continue accommodating twelve prostitutes in her brothel.[69]

Viennese vice police vigilantly checked brothel-based prostitutes' living environments through the First World War, faithfully reporting on any infractions they encountered. By 1912, Anna Letz owned the spacious three-story brothel on Gutenberggasse 23, in the Seventh District's notorious Spittelberg neighborhood. Just outside the Ring, it was close to the Stiftskaserne, one of several garrisons in the imperial capital. She had taken over the brothel from her mother, Franziska Kieninger, in early 1908, after helping to run it for several years during the latter's long illness. The brothel had been renovated sometime early in the twentieth century. Members of the police who inspected the brothel in Letz's absence on 8 May 1912 reported that two windows on the street side in the third-floor powder room were blocked. They also found that one of the eight prostitutes had a bruise on her right shoulder, which she claimed to have gotten from a client. Otherwise, everything in the brothel was "in order."[70]

The police informed the brothel employee who was in charge while Letz was away that police had found the prostitutes' earlier complaint about being charged too much rent justified, and demanded that their rent be lowered. Moreover, according to the city prostitution regulations, Letz had no right to any of the prostitutes' earnings except their rent. The police threatened to close her brothel if Letz refused to lower the rent, or if there were further complaints. The vice police reminded the prostitutes who were resident there that they did not have to await a police inspection to voice their concerns, but could appear at the police station at any time to complain, something they were unlikely to do. The prostitutes were also advised that they were free to leave the brothel whenever they chose.[71] Letz responded to the rent issue in a 27 March 1913 protocol she signed at the Police

[68] Crowded housing conditions, the abysmal lack of good housing stock, and high rent were ongoing topics of complaint in social-democratic newspapers, which described large families living in small one-room apartments with attached kitchens, digs they often shared with *Bettgeher*. See for example ongoing discussion in *A-Z* in September and October 1911; also Blau, *Architecture of Red Vienna*, 77–81.

[69] LPDW, PM, 1906/2, Crescentia Wolkenstein to the k.k. Bezirks- Polizei-Kommissariat Innere Stadt, 9 March 1907.

[70] LPDW, PM, 1906/1 Brothel inspection, Anna Letz, 8 May 1912. Note: The Vienna police brothel inspection records are incomplete. It is unclear which reports were saved or why.

[71] LPDW, PM 1906, k.k. Polizeidirektion Wien, 8 May 1912.

Directorate, asserting she had raised the prostitutes' rent because the expenses of running the brothel had increased. Her taxes had risen by 2,000 crowns annually, she explained. Letz considered the rise from twenty to twenty-five crowns daily (from about $4.00 to $5.00; the average annual rent in Vienna at the time was 227 crowns per person[72]) she charged for room and board to be reasonable because the prostitutes had said they accepted it. Moreover, she asserted the fact that other prostitutes requested to come to work at her brothel indicated the rent rate was acceptable. Following the prostitutes' complaint, Letz had lowered the daily rent to twenty crowns from 1 May.[73] Discussion with the prostitutes during a subsequent vice police inspection revealed they were now satisfied with their rent, although they complained that traffic at the brothel had been slow.

High room rates, lack of cleanliness, and even their food were sources of Viennese brothel prostitutes' grievances. That same spring, a prostitute protested the price she paid for room and board at Brady's Bäckerstraße brothel. On 29 April 1913, Marie Wanger complained to police about both the brothel's bad food, which may have referred to Brady's attempt to raise the daily price of room and board, and her "brutal treatment" at the hands of the brothel keeper. When police subsequently interviewed Brady on 2 May, she admitted the establishment was not in "top condition," but said she was having the entire property re-carpeted. The brothel keeper asserted that Wanger's other complaints were unfounded. Brady explained that she ran a *bürgerliche Küche* (served "bourgeois" food, including more meat than was common in working-class diets, in which bread and potatoes were staples), one that included seasoned vegetables. Wanger allegedly preferred her vegetables "English style," with butter. Evidence from earlier police inspections appears to support Brady's claims: prostitutes described their fare as generally good and plentiful.[74] The brothel madam told police that Wanger had complained that she earned too little money, but Brady had no idea if the woman was unwell. The situation appears to have resolved itself that same day when Wanger left Brady's brothel for Vienna's General Hospital to be treated for venereal disease.[75]

After the cost of room and board, prostitutes' second concern at the Brady brothel was cleanliness. They complained about the bad condition of the bed linens and the linens supplied for clients to clean themselves post coitus. The police response was to threaten the brothel's closing if hygiene—including the very progressive opportunity for prostitutes to bathe daily—did not improve. The situation appears to have improved soon afterward; in any case, prostitutes declared themselves "satisfied" with the situation in police reports from later that year.[76]

[72] International Institute of Social History, Data Files of Historical Prices and Wages, Tomáš Cvrček, "Austro-Hungarian prices and wages, 1827–1914," http://www.iisg.nl/hpw/data.php#austria (accessed 5 January 2017).

[73] LPDW, PM 1906/1, Protokoll aufgenommen bei der k.k. Polizeidirektion am 27. März 1913 mit Anna Letz.

[74] LPDW, PM, 1906/2, Brothel inspection, Antonie Brady, 1 May 1912.

[75] LPDW, PM, 1906/1, k.k. Bezirks-Polizei Commissariat Innere Stadt, beginning 29 April 1913.

[76] Some of the problems at Antonie Brady's brothel occurred while she was in Germany taking a cure. The police warned the brothel manager, a woman about whose family's morals they had earlier received complaints (LPDW, PM, 1906/2 Streng Vertrauliche Anzeige, 14 December 1908) and

Police reports reveal that Brady had earlier lowered the daily charges for room and board. Discussions with the prostitutes during the 1 May 1912 police inspection revealed that prostitutes preferred the daily rate of 26 crowns (just more than $5.00 a day) they now paid to Brady's earlier practice of the obligatory division of their earnings, which according to the self-reporting by the thirteen prostitutes present, had varied from 50 to 150 crowns (about $10.00 to $30.00) the previous evening. The prostitutes confirmed they earned much more than they paid in rent, and one woman even claimed to have purchased a small property in Hungary. Many of them had savings. But what police believed was their general lack of economic sense was revealed in the comment of Auguste Karner, who had "long been at the brothel." She admitted that she would have been able to save a great deal of money from her earnings had she not been so "reckless" about spending it.[77]

American abolitionist Abraham Flexner analyzed the situation at Brady's in his famous 1914 anti-regulationist tome, *Prostitution in Europe*. Flexner, who claimed to have the relevant police reports in his possession, used them to attack Viennese regulation of prostitution. In contrast to those criminal anthropologists who believed prostitutes to be habitual liars, Flexner rejected Brady's explanations out of hand, while accepting Wanger's complaints, even exaggerating them. Although no other prostitute at Brady's seems to have complained of physical violence, he wrote that three "inmates" were badly bruised; described the food Brady had served as "inedible," although he admitted it had improved; accused Brady of swindling her prostitutes out of their earnings, including their *Strumpfgeld*; and of changing their linen only once a month. The police, he concluded, were trying to monitor closely brothel keepers' behavior, but could do so only because there were so few brothels in Vienna.[78]

Regular police investigations, which threatened their livelihood, forced keepers of Vienna's tolerated brothels to take some responsibility for the environment in which the residents lived and worked. While the housing of all brothel and independent prostitutes may not have improved in the wake of the Riehl trial, Viennese vice police records indicate that they took their regular inspections seriously. They held brothel keepers to basic standards of cleanliness in an era of rapidly changing and modernizing sanitation norms. Inspections continued for the duration of the Monarchy, and more careful police supervision of brothels alleviated some of the worst conditions, not only in Vienna, but throughout much of Austria. These inspections offered the women more opportunities to speak for themselves, which some of them did, a possibility not limited to Vienna. Police elsewhere in the Monarchy also stressed their availability to speak with prostitutes. Police and other reports indicate that prostitutes sometimes complained about their

whom the prostitutes accused of favoritism in recommending them to afternoon clients, to resolve the hygiene situation: LPDW, PM, 1906/2, Brothel inspections, Antonie Brady, 24 February 1913; 1 October 1913.

[77] LPDW, PM, 1906/2, Brothel inspection, Antonie Brady, 1 May 1912.

[78] Abraham Flexner, *Prostitution in Europe*, reprint edn. (New York: The Century Company, 1919 [1914]), 189–90.

living conditions and that sometimes, something was done about it. The reports, however, also reveal that possibilities for brothel keepers to take advantage of their residents continued and that prostitutes, like other members of the working class, had difficulties establishing a secure living.

INDEPENDENT PROSTITUTES ALSO DEMAND THEIR RIGHTS

Reverberations from the Riehl trial and subsequent attempts to improve treatment of the women who worked in the sex trade appear to have emboldened that city's independent tolerated prostitutes to act in their own interests concerning room and board. Vice police records reflect prostitutes' agency vis-à-vis the brothel keepers, against whom they sometimes lodged complaints about their living situation—often concerning the amount of rent they were charged, but also the cleanliness of their surroundings and the food they ate—in the wake of the reforms.

According to the Liga, soon after the Riehl trial in late 1906 some independent prostitutes in the Spittelberg neighborhood complained that they were charged twelve, fourteen, and even sixteen crowns a night for lodging, at a time when the median apartment price in the Seventh District was between 1,000 and 2,000 crowns annually. Moreover, they charged, the "food is still terrible."[79] The local police inspector had been instructed by his superiors to inform all women who housed prostitutes that they could only charge twelve crowns a night, a price the prostitutes still considered too high. Following several unsuccessful appeals to the police to lower the price further, the prostitutes requested that the Liga intervene. There is no indication in the records whether Liga representatives intervened, or of the result of any intervention. In late 1907, however, an article under the headline "Intimes aus der Naglergasse" (Intimate from Naglergasse) appeared in the *Wiener Kriminal- und Detektiv-Zeitung*, describing two prostitutes who complained to the police that their landlady was exploiting them just 150 meters from Am Hof in the First District. The article reflected concerns Merta had raised in his discussion about the problems associated with housing independent tolerated prostitutes. Although the police decided the prostitutes' complaint was unfounded, and thus rejected it, they did not remove it from evidence.

THE AUSTRIAN SOCIETY FOR COMBATING VENEREAL DISEASES AND THE REGULATION OF PROSTITUTION

The Austrian Society for Combating Venereal Diseases (Österreichische Gesellschaft zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten; the ÖGBG), founded in April 1907,

[79] Section II, Table IV, *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Wien 1906*, vol. 24 (Vienna: Verlag des Wiener Magistrates, 1908), 30. I would like to thank Tomáš Cvrček for providing me with this information.

focused on waging a "modern" battle against venereal disease. Modeled on Germany's Society for Combating Venereal Diseases, which dated from 1902, the ÖGBG's primary task was to disseminate knowledge of venereal disease among the population, which it did by way of public lectures.[80] Physicians predominated in the Austrian organization, as in the German one. Finger, the chair, was a venereal disease specialist, and medical men also served as the vice chair and general secretary. Baumgarten was a member of the executive committee, and Merta a member of the advisory council. The organizing committee included several military physicians, underscoring concern about venereal disease among the rank and file, as well as female physicians and activists, among them abolitionists Lucia Morawitz and Rosa Mayreder, the former a member of the executive committee and the latter a member of the ÖGBG board.[81]

In March 1908, the ÖGBG hosted an extraordinary eight-evening series of lectures and discussions in the imperial capital on venereal disease. The didactic presentations were well publicized in local newspapers and a record of the proceedings would appear in the *Zeitschrift für Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten*, the publication of the German organization, which venereologist Alfred Blaschko edited. The discussions drew upon a broad survey of venereal disease that the organization had sent out the previous July to physicians, educators, hospital administrators, health insurers, police, and other concerned citizens. The survey—comprising eight questionnaires—addressed issues of VD's significance, spread, treatment, and relation to the law, clandestine and regulated prostitution, as well as morals and sex education for male youth.[82] In his role as chairman of the organization, Finger presided at the March series, which was well attended, showing the interest that venereal disease and prostitution held for a broad spectrum of Viennese society. Speakers and discussants ranged from government officials and parliamentary representatives through university professors and physicians to the "common working man"—and "common working woman," as it turned out, when several spoke out from the floor about low wages driving some women to engage in casual commercial sex.[83]

Underscoring the importance of the link between venereal disease and prostitution, two evenings' discussions were dedicated to the latter topic. Baumgarten gave the first lecture on prostitution. In his detailed presentation, the police high commissioner analyzed the causes and nature of prostitution and prostitutes. He addressed the pros and cons of abolition versus regulation, and discussed the attitude of the Austrian state and society to prostitution. Baumgarten advocated amending the May 1885 law that had caused so much consternation among the Viennese police and Lower Austrian officials. The police, he proclaimed, should be

[80] See announcements for an ÖGBG-sponsored lecture directed at women on venereal disease and the family, and a second lecture, directed at men, on how to avoid VD, *A-Z*, 17 December 1907, 7.

[81] On Mayreder, see Jušek, *Auf der Suche nach der Verlorenen*, 158–67.

[82] The meetings were reported in Austrian dailies, for example *Arbeiterwille*, 11 March 1908, 3; *A-Z*, 6 March 1908, 6; and *Innsbrucker Nachrichten*, 9 March 1908, 9.

[83] "Vorwort," in "Die Enquete der ÖGBG," v.

charged with *Überwachung* (watching and supervising) rather than the *Bestrafung* (punishing) of prostitutes.[84]

In the subsequent discussion that evening, Merta expanded upon Baumgarten's remarks by providing statistics for the previous decade—1898 to 1908—on regulated prostitutes, including their age at registration, their previous employment, their civil status and the like. He employed venereal disease figures to argue that while regulated prostitutes were dangerous, clandestine ones were far more so.[85] In his comments, self-described regulationist Finger reminded the audience that there was one area in which regulation had indisputably proven effective: the all-important military. In France and Germany, which had long regulated prostitution, he asserted, venereal disease rates were much lower than they were in England and Italy. While they expressed some sympathy for neo-abolitionist arguments, Baumgarten's, Finger's, and Merta's comments at the meetings most often elaborated on the regulationist arguments that they continued to hone.

These discussions provide an important lens through which to view Austrian, especially Viennese, experts' opinions on venereal disease in general and prostitution in particular.[86] That is not to say that their approach and expertise was universally welcomed. Despite the seriousness of the subject, neither the survey nor the lecture series escaped the attention of Karl Kraus, who claimed to have been asked his "expert" opinion on venereal disease. He eviscerated what he considered the organization's hypocrisy in his April 1908 essay, "Ö.G.Z.B.D.G.," in *Die Fackel*.[87]

The lectures and discussion from the floor reflected a variety of positions on how to staunch venereal disease and to treat prostitution. Despite the arguments of abolitionists, Morawitz, Mayreder, and longtime social democratic activist Adelheid Popp-Dworschak among them, some influential organization members still believed that regulation was the best of a series of not very good options. They carried the day.

THE GOVERNMENT'S SLOW PROGRESS TOWARD REFORM

The reform of prostitution regulation proceeded piecemeal in Vienna. On 11 March 1908, a nine-point Viennese police decree created a central department

[84] Anton Baumgarten, "Die Prostitution," in "Die Enquete der ÖGBG," 59.

[85] Anton Merta, "Diskussion," in "Die Enquete der ÖGBG," 191.

[86] At the behest of local military command, where venereal disease continued to increase, a three-day enquiry was held in Czernowitz. Military, police, local, and provincial authorities attended. Despite its condemnation by one of the participating academics, the majority of attendees supported regulation to fight VD, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 28 April 1908, 3, 4.

[87] See Karl Kraus, "Ö.G.Z.B.D.G.," *Die Chinesische Mauer*, 3rd edn. (Leipzig Verlag der Schriften von Karl Kraus [Karl Wolff], 1917, 158–68. Viennese novelist and playwright Arthur Schnitzler, whose treatment of sex in his work was very controversial, was asked to participate in the "Diskussion" of "Provocative Moments." He did not attend, but sent a letter, which was read at one of the evenings and published in "Die Enquete der ÖGBG," 108–9.

whose sphere of activity incorporated police activities related to the regulation of prostitution and to the monitoring of *Mädchenhandel*, with which, under the influence of the abolitionists, prostitution was increasingly linked in both the minds of the police and the public. A broad spectrum of obligations fell within the department's sphere of activity. They included the registration of minors and placing them under vice police control, scheduling brothel inspections, supporting the "struggle" against clandestine prostitution and putting "irredeemable" clandestine prostitutes under vice police control, and maintaining contacts with voluntary organizations, like the Liga, as well as improving the collection and analysis of data about prostitution and trafficking in order better to control prostitution and prevent trafficking. This decree incorporated many of the reforms of regulated prostitution that the police and the Lower Austrian prostitution committee had previously proposed.[88]

Discussions among the Minister President, the Lower Austrian government, and the Ministries of Finance and Interior over the disproportionate number of clandestine versus registered prostitutes continued in 1908 and 1909. It had been argued on some sides that vice police dealt with registered prostitutes more strictly than they did with clandestine sex workers. Therefore, police were to begin loosening those prostitution regulations that they believed had hindered the registering of women, while going after clandestine prostitutes with greater zeal. Indeed, the Viennese vice police were considered to have been less energetic in apprehending clandestine prostitutes than were the Prussian police, where the ratio of regulated to clandestine prostitutes was thought to be somewhat higher.[89] Based on arrests of some 1,300 women for illicit sex the previous year, in early 1908 police estimated the number of clandestine prostitutes in Vienna at 13,000—some 7,000 of them full-time—with the total number of prostitutes 14,466.[90]

Another indication of the slow but steady pace of reform was Baumgarten's and Finger's widely reproduced study for the Oberster Sanitätsrat (highest medical council), "Die Regelung der Prostitution in Österreich" (The Regulation of Prostitution in Austria), which appeared in 1909. It incorporated many of the arguments they had made in the ÖGBG discussions the previous year. Baumgarten and Finger addressed the issue of whether, and on what basis, prostitution should be regulated in the Monarchy. The eight-point document analyzed the "kind" of women who became prostitutes, rejected abolitionist arguments, defended the utility of regulation, advocated change in the 1885 law governing prostitution, and proposed changes to the 1900 regulations.

In their analysis of prostitutes as a social class, Baumgarten and Finger mirrored the attitudes of many contemporary specialists, including criminologists Cesare Lombroso and Guglielmo Ferraro. Their descriptions of the "moral degeneration" of those who became prostitutes at a young age distanced prostitutes from

[88] Auszug aus dem Erlasse der k.k. Polizeidirektion Wien vom 11 März 1908, Z. 787, "Sammlung der für die Bekämpfung des Mädchenhandels in Betracht kommenden österreichischen Gesetze, Verordnungen und Erlässe" (Vienna, 1909), 40.

[89] Truxa, "Diskussion," in "Die Enquete der ÖGBG," 217.

[90] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2122, 32921/07, to k.k. niederösterr. Statthalterei Wien, 4 March 1908.

bourgeois women.[91] Most prostitutes, they wrote, had grown up in impoverished conditions, where they witnessed their parents' "immorality," and these women considered it their natural right to do with their bodies what they wanted. For such females, "sexual honor" was an imaginary good. Given their material condition, it took only a minor external instigation for predisposed individuals to become prostitutes. The moral neglect inculcated in these women—and they were not even aware of it—was the actual cause of prostitution.

Baumgarten and Finger addressed the possibility of prostitute reform, asserting that any attempt to reform these women was unlikely to be successful. The longer a woman had been a prostitute, they argued, the less likely she was to change.[92] In their distancing discourse on the artisanal-working-class milieu from which many prostitutes came, the two constructed these women as dangerous and in need of control. Comments elicited from the Viennese police in the ÖGBG's 1907 survey indicate that many police, too, believed efforts to reform prostitutes largely failed.[93] Liga correspondence with police supports that view: at least some young women given over to their care did not want to be "saved." These women absconded, sometimes from "respectable" jobs, in order to return to prostitution. The Liga's annual report for 1908 notes that 106 of the Viennese branch's 739 charges that year had been deemed "incorrigible" and "left to their own fate." The number of "incorrigibles" the Liga recorded was even greater the following year.[94]

In addition to rejecting abolitionists' arguments that regulation legally recognized and legitimated immorality, Baumgarten and Finger also dismissed their arguments that regulation was, in any case, a failure both because it did not encompass all prostitutes and because male clients were not examined. This, they claimed, merely reflected the fact that regulation was "incomplete." As concerned expanding regulation to include examining male clients—which was the only way to limit VD—they wrote, the experience in Hamburg, Germany had demonstrated that it simply did not work, because men avoided such brothels. They advocated instead instituting penalties for negligently and knowingly infecting others, which would become the practice in some Habsburg successor states. The two rejected neo-regulationist ideas as well, repeating that the people of Austria were "absolutely not ready for" a law, as in Denmark or Italy, that permitted the individual—male or female—to decide to be treated for venereal disease. They believed that Austrian prostitutes had to be coerced.[95]

[91] On Lombroso and the prostitute as a model of moral degeneracy, see Spongberg, *Feminizing Venereal Disease*, 167. For Baumgarten and Finger, "Die Regelung der Prostitution in Österreich," "Sammlung der für die Bekämpfung des Mädchenhandels in Betracht kommenden österreichischen Gesetze, Verordnungen und Erlässe," 88.

[92] "Die Regelung der Prostitution in Österreich," 60.

[93] The Österreichische Gesellschaft zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheit study sent to the Leiter des Bezirks-Polizei-Kommissariates, 9 August 1907, LPDW, PM, 1907/1.

[94] LPDW, PM, 1909, Correspondence; "Bericht der Österreichischen Liga zur Bekämpfung des Mädchenhandels über das Vereinsjahr 1908 und Generalsversammlungs-Protokoll vom 18. Mai 1909," 13–14, and subsequent reports.

[95] Italy made prostitute examinations voluntary in 1905, and obligatory examinations were abandoned in Denmark the following year. "Die Regelung der Prostitution in Österreich," 86; Finger had made the same assertion in "Diskussion," in "Die Enquete der ÖGBG," 232.

Mirroring increased medical knowledge of venereal disease, Baumgarten and Finger noted that regulation offered only one guarantee: if a registered prostitute were found to have venereal disease, and taken to the hospital for treatment, she was thus prevented from infecting men she might otherwise have had sexual relations with had she not been hospitalized. Baumgarten and Finger repeated the argument that the experience of the military proved that regulating prostitution was effective. Where there was regulation of prostitution, rates of venereal disease dropped; where there was abolition, they rose.[96]

Baumgarten and Finger reiterated the complaints of the 1907 Lower Austrian prostitution commission members that the regulation in Austria rested on "a not quite satisfactory legal basis."[97] As had others before them, they laid out a defense of regulation based on their interpretation of Austrian criminal law, and proposed changes in it. Meanwhile, the number of brothels in the center of Vienna continued to drop: to six, housing a total of sixty prostitutes.

Vienna's revised prostitution regulations finally came into effect on 5 April 1911, with guidelines for the police physician administration of prostitutes' twice-weekly examinations published the following October and coming into effect on 1 January 1912. The regulations incorporated the controlling elements of the 14 November 1906 police decree, while for the first time giving women some protection vis-à-vis the police. Provisions adopted from the 1906 decree included making permanent the age of eighteen for issuing health books, with exceptions only for those underage girls who had been found to be incorrigibly "morally derelict" despite all efforts to rehabilitate them (paragraphs 1, 5) and the strict supervision of existing brothels through their regular inspection (paragraphs 16, 17), which, in theory, helped protect the prostitute. In an effort to limit police abuses, other new provisions limited the circumstances under which police—and then only vice police—could seize "suspicious" women, and under which compulsory medical examinations were permitted (paragraphs 37, 38).[98] Reflecting earlier police recommendations, special provisions for "discreet" prostitution were abolished, although the practice continued elsewhere in Austria. Police and provincial officials in Bohemia, Bukovina, Silesia, and elsewhere quickly requested copies of the new regulations.[99]

The critical element of the police and police-physician regulations remained the control of tolerated prostitutes—and women arrested for clandestine prostitution—by means of medical surveillance, with those suffering from venereal disease being hospitalized, forcibly if necessary.[100] The new physician guidelines

[96] "Die Regelung der Prostitution in Österreich," 84, 86.

[97] "Die Regelung der Prostitution in Österreich," 92.

[98] The Viennese police "medical examination like a prostitute" of working-class women was sometimes mentioned in newspaper discussion of crime; for example *A-Z*, 28 March 1900, 4–5.

[99] "Polizei-Direktions-Erlaß vom 5. April 1911," S.A. 55 betreffend die polizeiliche Überwachung der Prostitution, *Amtsblatt der k.k. Polizei-Direktion in Wien* (1911): 5–14.

[100] LPDW, PM, 1907/2, Anton Baumgarten, letter of 7 October 1912.

resolved the issue of where prostitutes were to be examined: by police physicians, in police-designated spaces. In exceptional circumstances police physicians might examine in their own homes a limited number of prostitutes, who would pay the examining physician a two-crown honorarium. The admonishment in the police physician guidelines that the prostitutes appear in "clean, decent clothing" and "wait quietly" reflects assumptions that tolerated prostitutes, and other women undergoing examinations for venereal disease at the hands of police physicians, would not conform to or even be aware of bourgeois norms for behavior.[101] The reasoning behind the new measures remained the same: preventing the endangerment of public decency and public health.

CONCLUSION

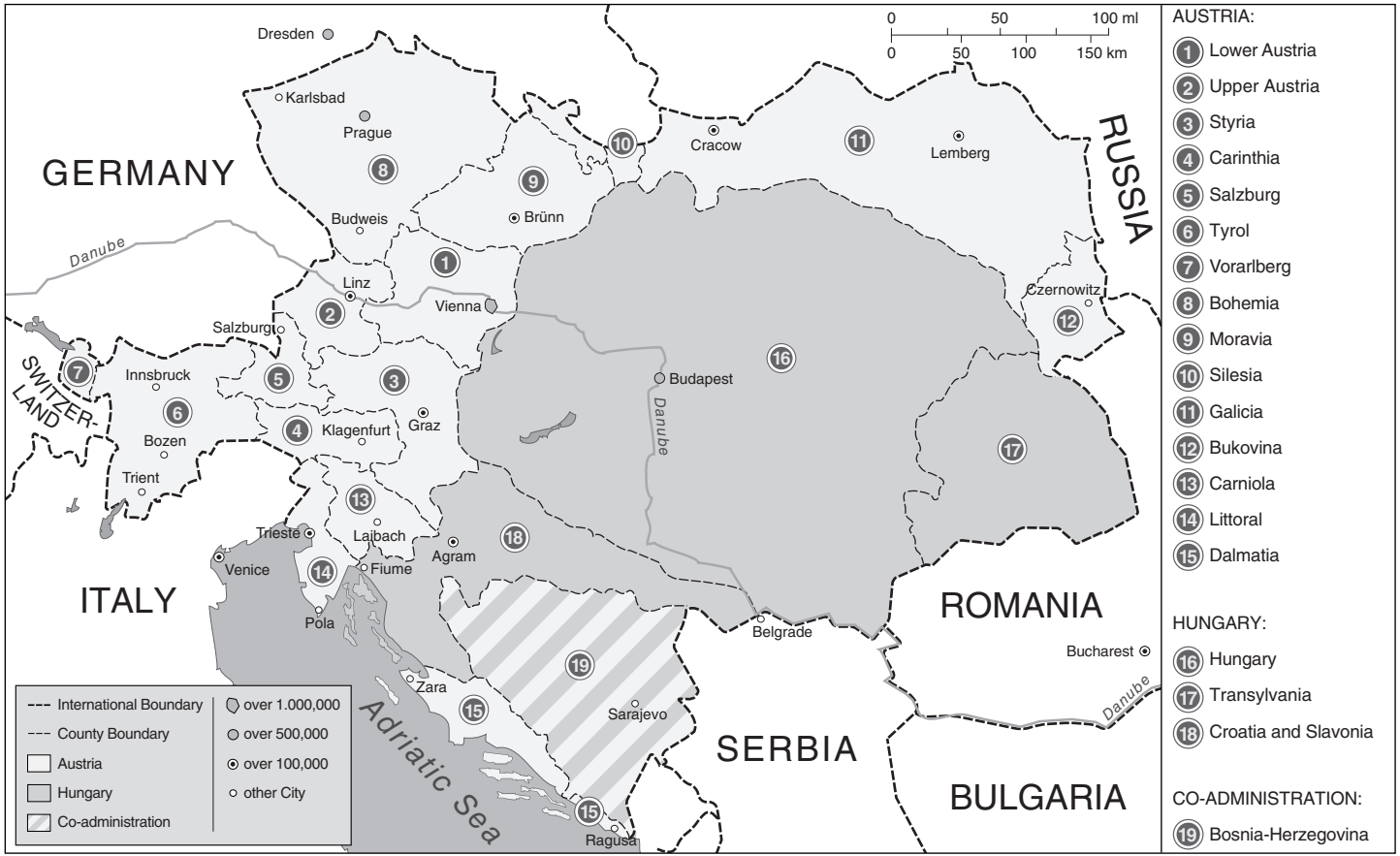
Vienna, and by extension Austria, remained regulationist until the end of the Monarchy, despite police recognition that the percentage of women registered in large cities was low, and complaints that the regulatory apparatus was expensive, and in any case ineffective. It was also repressive. Its advocates continued to defend the system as providing them the opportunity to monitor tolerated prostitutes' health. Some post-Riehl changes did offer the possibility of improving prostitutes' living conditions, for example, requiring that Viennese vice police query brothel-based prostitutes about their housing, and empowering independent prostitutes to protest their treatment at the hands of their landladies. This development not only offered the prostitutes opportunity to assert themselves about their living conditions, but also provided the government even more information about this class of female citizens. As Lower Austrian prostitution commission members and others pointed out, the legal basis for tolerated prostitution remained "questionable," but there was no move in parliament to amend the 1885 law.

Raising to eighteen the minimum age for registering prostitutes was important to assuage public outrage over girls in brothels, but had relatively little effect on the number of tolerated prostitutes in Vienna, most of whom were in their twenties and early thirties. Neither did it have an effect on the number of girls under eighteen practicing clandestine prostitution. More important, although less often the topic of newspaper reports, was the requirement that tolerated prostitutes with venereal disease be hospitalized until they were "cured," because the prostitute could be tolerated only so long as she remained healthy. Discussion of the efficacy of the physician examinations also highlighted a related, perennial problem in Austria: there remained a relative lack of dedicated hospital space to treat those prostitutes who had venereal disease. As late as May 1914, Viennese police reported that because of limited space, they were unable to turn over to the hospital for examination women they had picked up on the streets or tolerated prostitutes whom police physicians had found to be infected during regular examinations.

[101] "Polizeidirektionserlaß vom 11 Oktober 1911," *Amtsblatt der k.k. Polizei-Direktion in Wien* (1911): 35–6.

The influential specialists who believed prostitutes had a hereditary-environmental predisposition toward the trade revealed prostitutes' agency when they discussed the women's rejection of brothel prostitution and when they advocated rules making prostitutes responsible for rejecting clients who appeared diseased. These men did not consider prostitutes to be docile, but rather opponents whom they attempted to control for what they believed was the good of society. Facing limited opposition from abolitionists, and little call for increased physician control of prostitution, they maintained a regulationist agenda. The Riehl trial animated discussion of prostitution reform in Austria at many levels, but there was no sweeping revision in regulatory practice. Although regulation increasingly incorporated Baumgarten's proposed focus on watching and supervising rather than punishing, few of those with police or political power were invested in making more fundamental changes to the system. Regulation thus remained in the hands of the vice police and, like so many other policies, unstandardized across Cisleithanian Austria.

As unsatisfactory, and as incomplete, a solution as police and other officials considered regulation, most of them considered the alternatives—abolition, legalization, neo-regulation—even less satisfactory. When the revised rules for surveillance of Viennese prostitutes were finally issued in April 1911, local officials from other cities in the Monarchy with tolerated brothel-based prostitution sought to employ them as a model for revising their own regulations. Elsewhere, Austrian officials continued to use the regulations they had earlier revised, and continued to revise, because of local circumstances or in reaction to the Riehl trial, as I analyze in the third chapter.



Map 2. Cisleithanian Austria, circa 1908.

3

Peripheries

Regulating Prostitution in the Provinces

Neither holy pictures nor pictures of members of royal families
May be installed in brothel spaces that visitors use.

Prostitution Regulations, Villach[1]

Police rules apply to music making during the nighttime hours.

Prostitution Regulations, Teplitz-Schönau[2]

Anticipating far-reaching revision of police monitoring of prostitution, the Ministry of Interior issued a decree on 21 November 1906 soliciting descriptions of proposals for changes to regulations resulting from the problems raised at the Riehl trial. The Ministry sought reports in three months from all provincial governors on regulation in those large cities in their jurisdiction that had "significant industrial installations or military garrisons." These were cities whose populations included a large number of men who were unmarried or temporarily separated from their wives.[3] Provincial officials in turn requested information on conditions from a broad spectrum of appointed and elected local and district officials who analyzed prostitution in their jurisdictions. Responses arrived from other locales than those from which the Ministry of Interior had sought information. The 21 November decree stimulated plans both for instituting regulation in some places where it did not yet exist and for the immediate or long-term improvement of regulation elsewhere.

The responses returned to the Ministry of Interior are a rich source of information on understudied aspects of regulation: the presence of prostitutes across Austria, in towns and cities, garrison towns, spas, industrial regions, and the countryside. Because historians of tolerated prostitution in Europe have tended to focus on larger cities, paying little attention to smaller municipalities and rural areas, these reports expand our knowledge on the topic. They reveal how widespread regulation was in

[1] "Heiligenbilder oder Bilder von Mitgliedern der regierender Häuser dürfen in den von den Besuchern benützten Räumlichkeiten nicht angebraucht werden." The bordello in Villach was opened in November 1904 in response to concerns about venereal disease: ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 8008/07, Amtsärzliche Aeußerung zum Erlasse des k.k. Landespräsidiums in Kärnten, 5 December 1906; Amtsärzliche Aeußerung, Dr. Friedr. Schmeger, 14 December 1906.

[2] "Bezüglich des Musizierens zur Nachtzeit gelten die Bestimmungen der Polizei-Ordnung," paragraph 26, in "Polizeiliche Anordnungen Teplitz-Schönau" (Buchdruckerei Richard Wächter, 1903).

[3] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 6033/07, k.k. Statthalter to k.k. Ministerium des Innern, 19 February 1907.

municipalities of all sizes. Analyzed together, the responses, differing in length, detail, and focus, shed considerable light on the opinions and experiences of the men charged with regulating prostitution.

The respondents addressed four major issues: 1) the utility of regulating prostitution on the example of tolerated brothels; 2) the danger prostitutes posed to public health; and less often, 3) the social origins of local prostitutes; and 4) the social profile of the clients. Reports from middle-sized and smaller municipalities paralleled provincial and imperial capitals' concerns about maintaining public health and protecting public morals, while protecting registered prostitutes from abuse. Some officials provided brief local histories of prostitution, while others discussed the broader environment of prostitution, including brothel clients and brothel keepers, speculating on the social status of the women who became prostitutes. Others mentioned pandering/procuring, a crime encompassing accommodation of prostitutes, the commercial supply of the same, and acting as intermediary for innkeepers and tavern keepers. Most respondents wrote little about the ethnic, geographic, or religious background of prostitutes themselves, because they had not been tasked with these topics.

These reports reveal varying attitudes toward, experiences with, and understandings of regulation. Local practices accounted for some of the variation reflected in the reports. The Stadion Constitution of 1849 granted townships the right to elect their own officials and govern their own affairs. It permitted townships to decide who belonged to the municipality and who did not. It also codified the responsibilities of townships and their relationship to the central administration and its district and county representatives.[4] Thus, some municipalities permitted prostitution in brothels or designated inns, while others permitted only independent prostitutes. Still others permitted both kinds of prostitution, or none at all. The local police, who enforced the rules, had a great deal of discretion in Austrian regulation.

The desire to show that the local police were doing a better job than their Viennese counterparts may also have helped shape the responses. Some of the comments explicitly referred to the Riehl trial—not without *Schadenfreude*—as reflecting the failure of regulation in the imperial capital. Most responses focused on the effectiveness of regulation rather than evaluating its morality, although several did that as well. While a few men were abolitionists who wanted the brothels closed, far more called for reform, demanding, as in Vienna, regulation's placement on "sound" legal basis, rather than leaving police the "right, but not the obligation" to punish prostitution. There were proposals for improving the existing system, especially police practices, but few demands for the repeal of regulation.

Like Viennese and imperial officials, many district, local, and regional officials sought to protect prostitutes, but not at the expense of their larger goals: preventing prostitution from offending bourgeois society, and defending the public against

[4] John Deak, *Forging a Multinational State: State Making in Imperial Austria from the Enlightenment to the First World War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), 90–1.

venereal disease. They occasionally related tales of the physical abuse and other maltreatment of prostitutes at the hands of brothel keepers, adding to the "prostitute-victim" narrative, and concentrated on providing these women more freedom of movement while still protecting greater society. Respondents described the changes in regulation they had already made, or were planning to make. In addition to discouraging women from becoming prostitutes in the first place, there were proposals to prevent brothel keepers from exploiting prostitutes and to protect prostitutes' health by educating them about venereal disease and alcoholism, from which some women suffered, and providing each with her own, well-ventilated bedroom.[5] Only rarely did the reports raise the issue of the character of those who owned or ran the brothels, and suggest tightening the licensing system to ensure brothels' proper functioning. Other proposals included the stricter monitoring of panderers and the exclusion of underage girls from the "system." Changes in the regulation would slowly be enacted across Austria to help assure better functioning of brothels.

The reports reflect preoccupation with protecting the health of middle-class and lower-middle-class clients, many of whom could not afford to marry until their late twenties, well after the age of sexual maturity. Some regulations forbade tolerated prostitutes to keep company with students and apprentices in public places.[6] Elsewhere, officials called for careful sex education—a topic of growing interest after the turn of the century—addressed to various adult and youthful male audiences, to help improve their morals and to limit the spread of venereal disease. This audience was assumed to include soldiers, university students and workers, including apprentices, assistants, and clerks, who, because of "the storm and stress period of the male youth" had high rates of VD.[7] Some officials sought to prevent young men and drunks from entering brothels altogether, the former because of their naiveté, and the latter because of their antisocial behavior.[8] Indeed, officials noted that irrespective of what kind of surveillance was used, it could not be assumed that there would be no problems because of the "kind of people" who visited prostitutes.[9]

August Wieser von Mährenheim, the long-time liberal mayor of Brünn, conveyed the prevailing attitude among many officials when he argued that a man's

[5] Authorities in Tyrol proposed the strict monitoring of taverns to counter alcoholism as a cause for prostitution, while Salzburg officials sought to forbid the sale of beer, wine, liquor, or cheap spirits to brothel prostitutes or their clients; see ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 10199/07, k.k. Statthalterei Präsidium to k.k. Ministerium, 23 March 1907; and 8008/07, Bericht der k.k. Landesregierung in Salzburg, Etwurf über die Regulung des Prostitutionswesens, paragraph 5, n.d. (probably early 1907).

[6] "Polizeiliche Anordnungen Teplitz-Schönau," paragraph 6.a.

[7] On bourgeois men's widespread use of prostitutes for sexual initiation in pre-1914 Wilhelmine Germany, see Edmund Ross Dickinson, *Sex, Freedom, and Power in Imperial Germany, 1880–1914* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1914), 22. Ernst Finger refers to the "Erkrankungen der Sturm- und Drangperiode der männlichen Jugend" in "Diskussion," "Die Enquete der ÖGBG," 68.

[8] Paragraph 19 of Trieste's 1907 prostitution regulations forbade prostitutes from having sex with immature males, ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121.

[9] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 8008/07, k.k. schlesische Landesregierung to k.k. Ministerium des Innern, 6 March 1907.

sexual urge was invincible and satisfaction of his physiological need was necessary for his health.[10] He added that "so long as instinct acts more strongly than the demands of propriety, morals, and legal precepts, prostitution must be treated as a necessary evil and strictly regulated instead of repressed." Mährenheim's assertion reflects the understanding of a sexually active male and a sexually passive female, as well as the fact that before 1914, physicians believed that long-term celibacy had a deleterious effect on young men's mental and physical health.[11] Other respondents expressed less certainty that the evil was "necessary," but rather that it was "unavoidable," and therefore required control.[12]

In this chapter, I argue that these responses demonstrate an urban-rural division in attitudes toward the efficacy of regulated prostitution. The reactions of provincial police and administrative authorities underscore the difference between monitoring in many small-to-medium-sized municipalities, where police knew many of the actors personally, and the anonymity that prevailed in the Empire's larger cities, where authorities often considered regulation the best of a series of bad solutions. Most reports from the smaller towns advocated regulation as an effective measure to limit the hygienic and moral danger prostitution posed. Respondents believed that housing prostitutes in closed brothels enabled the police to contain prostitution effectively. As in Vienna, provincial officials' other concern was to remove clandestine prostitutes from inns and taverns, and above all from the streets.[13]

REGULATIONS IN PROVINCIAL CAPITALS

Across imperial Austria (see Map 2), many larger provincial cities had well-developed brothel cultures, sometimes centered in the older parts of town, often the former Jewish quarter. At the turn of the century, eight of the Habsburg Monarchy's ten largest cities were in Cisleithanian Austria. Vienna, with a metropolitan population of more than two million by 1910, was by far the largest city in the Monarchy, followed by Budapest. The free imperial city of Trieste, the capital of the Austrian Littoral, and Prague, with populations of 229,000 and 224,000 respectively in 1910, followed. Lemberg, Graz, Brünn, the capitals of Galicia, Styria, and Moravia, together with Cracow, Galicia's second city, had populations ranging from 125,000 to just over 200,000.[14] Respondents in the larger provincial capitals often echoed Viennese concerns about prostitution, addressing many of the same issues as had imperial officials and the Viennese press—public morals, public

[10] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 8008/07, Bürgermeister Brünn to k.k. mähr. Statthalterei Präsidium, 1 January 1907.

[11] Dickinson, *Sex, Freedom, and Power in Imperial Germany*, 21.

[12] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 13479/07, k.k. Oberstaatsanwalt to k.k. Statthalterei in Graz, 14 March 1907.

[13] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 31633/07, k.k. Hofrat to k.k. Statthalterei in Prague, 1 February 1907.

[14] Unless otherwise noted, population figures come from *Österreichische Statistik, Neue Folge, 1910–1915* (Vienna: K.k. Statistisches Zentralkommission, 1917).

health, prostitutes' well-being, and trafficking in women. These officials, most of whom advocated tolerated brothels, also stressed the need for regulated prostitution to be placed on a "sound" legal basis.

Brothels were tolerated in provincial capitals, with the exception of Innsbruck, in Tyrol, where only independent prostitutes were permitted, and Bregenz, in Vorarlberg, Austria's westernmost province, where prostitution was not allowed at all, and the local public apparently had no desire for it to be. Vorarlberg residents looked to the example of neighboring Switzerland, where, excepting the Canton Geneva, which bordered on France, prostitution had been abolished, without any demonstrable negative effect on public health.[15] While prostitutes might temporarily stop in Bregenz on their way south during the tourist season, their trade was not permitted. Authorities claimed there was no prostitution in Vorarlberg, with the exception of three districts, where officials reported that poverty had forced servants and waitresses into clandestine prostitution, resulting in the spread of venereal disease.[16]

Many responses failed to arrive in February 1907, but after some prodding, the Ministry of Interior received reports by the end of the year from all provincial governments except Galicia, Austria's most populous province. As late as 27 October 1907, the Galician governor's office in Lemberg had contacted the provincial board of health on the issue, attaching copies of reports from the Cracow and Lemberg police headquarters, which I have not found (nor have I found a formal report in the Ministry of Interior records in the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv). A hand-written draft of Lemberg University Dermatology Professor, physician and venereal disease specialist Włodzimierz Łukasiewicz's proposal to reform prostitution, dated 8 March 1908, reflects concerns similar to those of doctors and other officials elsewhere in Austria: venereal disease and police surveillance. There is no indication whether Łukasiewicz's report was sent to Vienna, although police commissioner Baumgarten mentioned a report from Lemberg police headquarters proposing solely brothel prostitution in that city in his March 1908 speech to the Austrian Society for Combating Venereal Diseases.[17]

Cracow and Lemberg, where prostitution had been tolerated since 1876, permitted brothel and independent prostitutes. Prostitution had been regulated

[15] In Switzerland, the Christian-based morality movement, akin to the Abolitionists in England, forced the closure of brothels in Lausanne, Lugano, and Zurich between 1886 and 1899; see "Prostitution," *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D16559.php (accessed 8 January 2017). See also Theodor Weiss, *Die Prostitutionsfrage in der Schweiz und das schweizerische Strafgesetzbuch: Materialien, Betrachtungen und Vorschläge* (Bern: Stämpfli & Cie., 1906).

[16] On prostitution in Vorarlberg, see ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 10199/07, k.k. Statthalterei-Präsidium to k.k. Ministerium, 23 March 1907.

[17] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2122, 955/06, An den Herrn k.k. Statthalter, 21 November 1906; 6033/07, An alle politischen Landeschefs mit Ausnahme von Wien und Prag, 22 February 1907; Ministerpräsident betreffend die Neuregelung der Prostitutionsüberwachung, 28 November 1907; Derzhavnyi arkhiv L'viv oblasti (hereafter DALO), Dyrektsiia politsii u L'vovi, Fond 152, Opys 2, 23742, C.k. Namiestnika, 27 October 1907; draft comments on the proposed reform of regulated prostitution, including hospitalization of prostitutes with venereal disease, dating from March 1908, Fond 668, Opys 1, 76; and Baumgarten, "Die Prostitution," in "Die Enquete der ÖGBG," 184.

in Galician cities with populations greater than 10,000 and towns with military garrisons since the mid-nineteenth century.[18] Even some smaller Galician towns tolerated independent prostitutes. Cracow's brothels, which were filled with women from Galicia as well as neighboring Moravia and Silesia, were located in Kazimierz, the Jewish neighborhood.[19] Cracow police often picked up women soliciting clients along Dietla, the broad tree-lined boulevard that separated Kazimierz from the Old City and the rest of Cracow. Many Lemberg brothels, where the trade was also associated with Jews, were located close to the city center, despite occasional efforts to move them.

Trieste, Prague, and Czernowitz had long traditions of prostitution, with numerous brothels located in their old Jewish quarters. Since the Napoleonic occupation between 1811 and 1814, Trieste prostitutes had been concentrated in brothels. In the decade before the First World War, Trieste was home to forty such establishments, many located on adjacent, narrow, winding alleys in the old city (*città vecchia*), close to inexpensive eateries and taverns, all of them easily accessible from the ports and to the Trieste-based troops. According to the governor's office in the Austrian Littoral, there were some 300 tolerated prostitutes in Trieste's brothels, a far larger number than in Vienna, and just twenty independent prostitutes in 1906.[20]

The report from Trieste addressed prostitution in terms of the obligations of a modern state, whose tasks in the domain of society's moral health included protecting children and youth, preventing public nuisance, punishing violence and fraud, and undertaking sanitary-police measures. The government had to accept prostitution as a reality of existing economic and social relations, and thus reject as unpractical abolitionist demands to close brothels. The report cautioned, as had Viennese officials, that the revision of regulation should not be so draconian as to promote clandestine prostitution. The governor concluded that brothel prostitution was preferable to independent prostitution, but should not be too favored, because it encouraged "trafficking in women and increased male immorality." Citing the standard argument against brothels, he asserted it was impossible to prevent the exploitation of prostitutes at the hands of brothel keepers. Like Viennese and other officials, he also claimed that it was virtually impossible to effect the return of a tolerated prostitute to a "decent" way of life.[21]

With emendations, Triestine police regulations dating from 1888 remained in effect until new ones were published on 1 January 1907.[22] The 1907 document

[18] "Instrukcya dla magistratów miast o 10.000 lub więçej ludności, i miast posiadających załogi wojskowe, względem wykonywania nadzoru nad publicznemi nierządnicam" (Lwów, 1852). I thank Keely Stauter-Halsted for this information.

[19] Michał Baczkowski, "Prostytucja w Krakowie na przełomie XIX i XX w," *Studia Historyczne* 43/4 (2000): 607.

[20] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, Statthalterei in Triest to k.k. Ministerium des Innern, 15 May 1907.

[21] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, Statthalterei in Triest to k.k. Ministerium des Innern, 15 May 1907.

[22] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, "Reglement" issued by k.k. Polizeidirektion, Trieste, 1 January 1907; and Erik Holmes Schneider, *Zois in Nighttown: Prostitution and Syphilis in the Trieste of James Joyce and Italo Svevo (1880–1920)* (Trieste: Comunicarte Edizioni, 2012), 17–18, 23.

appeared too soon after the Riehl trial for the men who formulated it to have taken the proceedings or the subsequent Viennese police decree into account. The regulations forbidding the brothel keeper to insult, mistreat, or threaten prostitutes more likely reflected the influence of local anti-vice crusaders.[23] Trieste brothel keepers, who were subject to a longer list of rules than their prostitutes, were in any case responsible for maintaining order in their establishments. The governor's office noted that if the sections of the city's new regulations concerning the protection of tolerated prostitutes' moral and material interests proved effective, he planned to apply them in Pola and Görz, the Littoral's only other cities with a significant prostitute presence.

Trieste's revised regulations reveal assumptions about prostitute behavior in the limitations they placed on these women outside the brothel, where they were permitted to remain until their evening working hours commenced. Reflecting concerns about their previous conduct and possible future conduct, the rules required brothel prostitutes to avoid behavior that caused shame or offended public decency, by words, gestures, and "overly free" conduct. The regulations addressed the obligations of the brothel owner or her representative (a reliable, mature, older woman, vetted by the police). They also laid out who was permitted to reside in the brothel: registered prostitutes, who had to be at least seventeen years old; female staff, who were obliged to undergo regular medical examinations if they were between the ages of seventeen and fifty; and the brothel keeper. The 1907 regulations permitted the keepers' husbands to live there as well. As with the earlier regulations, the brothel keeper was responsible for ensuring that any prostitute found to have venereal disease was taken immediately to the hospital.[24]

Prostitutes put Trieste's revised regulations to test the very month they were published. In January 1907, four residents of Via dei Capitella, 3, one of several brothels lining that old town street, took brothel keeper Carolina Oven to court. They alleged that she charged them "inflated rent" and too much for their "work clothes," as well as confiscating their possessions, including their own clothing, which they claimed she sold to her other prostitute-employees, if they could not repay their debts. Because Triestine clients paid the brothel keeper, who kept the house accounts, rather than paying the prostitutes, these women might have little or no money of their own. This is the kind of exploitation that caused such an uproar over Riehl's brothel in Vienna. Their complaint against Oven was settled in the prostitutes' favor several months later. Oven either paid the women the money she owed them or returned their clothing and the charges against her were dropped.[25]

Like Trieste, Prague was home to more brothels than Vienna. It had the largest number of tolerated brothels, tolerated prostitutes, and estimated number of clandestine prostitutes in the Bohemian Lands. Prague police *Ober-Komissäre* (chief police inspectors) Ludwig Chevalier and Franz Protivenski provided opposing

[23] Conversation with Erik Holmes Schneider, June 2015; and Schneider, *Zois in Nighttown*.

[24] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, "Reglement," k.k. Polizeidirektion, Trieste, 1 January 1907.

[25] Archivio di Stati di Trieste (hereafter AST), Tribunale Provinciale (1850–1929), Atti penali, File 4113.

perspectives on prostitution. The former advocated tolerated prostitutes in brothels to protect public health, morals, and the prostitutes. Chevalier, venereology professor Ferdinand Pečírka, the city's long-time chief police physician and a colleague of Vienna's Baumgarten, and police official Wenzel Ploch similarly advocated tolerated prostitutes in closed brothels as the best solution for Prague. Protivenski, in contrast, was one of the few administrative or police voices in Cisleithanian Austria who opposed regulation, which he claimed did not limit the spread of venereal disease.[26]

Chevalier offered a brief history of regulation in Prague, where there had been eighty-six brothels four decades earlier in 1866 at the end of the Austro-Prussian War. Following civic protests in the late 1890s, which included deputations and petitions to close brothels, came the rise of independent prostitution—permitted in Prague since 1890—and a concomitant decrease in the number of brothels. The complete reconstruction at the turn of the century of Josefov, the former Jewish ghetto in the center of Prague where many of the older brothels and pubs frequented by prostitutes had been located, contributed to the decrease, although the district remained a lively site of commercial sex.[27] Former police detective Leopold Friedmann's brothel on Rabínská ulice 95/96, later Maiselova 96, was a staple of sexual commerce in Josefov. Together with Emanuel Goldschmied's brothel, tucked away in Old Town's Kamzíková ulice in the city center, Friedmann's was the grandest in the city (see Map 3).[28]

Clients of the ever-smaller number of brothel prostitutes, some 250 to 290 women between 1900 and 1905, came to the thirty-one brothels where these women were housed in the first decade of the twentieth century. Although they remained much higher than Vienna's, brothel numbers continued to drop in the last decade before the war, leveling out at twenty-four brothels with fewer than 200 prostitutes.[29] Some of the lower-end brothels were located in the crowded, workshop-filled streets and alleys of Old Town, like those on Anežská ulice, by the former cloister (Illustration 3.1). Deputations of city fathers from Prague's three other central districts, Staré Město (Old Town), Nové Město (New Town), and Malá Strana (Lesser Side), which were home to most of the remaining establishments, continued to advocate with the mayor and city council for further reduction of their numbers after the turn of the twentieth century, or at least for closing those brothels near schools, churches, and major thoroughfares.[30]

[26] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, Bericht des k.k. Polizei-Oberkomissärs Franz Protivenski in Prag, n.d.

[27] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, Bericht des Prof. M.U. Dr. F[erdinand] Pečírka, k.k. Polizei-Chefarztes in Prag, 9 January 1907, 13. See Cathleen M. Giustino, *Tearing Down Prague's Jewish Town: Ghetto Clearance and the Legacy of Middle-Class Ethnic Politics around 1900* (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 2003), on the clearance and reconstruction of Prague's ghetto.

[28] Dating from 1866, and colloquially known as "Gogo," Salon Goldschmied was the best-known brothel in the city. Paul Lepin, *Hüter der Freude* (1918), reprint 2007, edited by Markus R. Baller, Julia Hadwiger, Dierk O. Hoffman, and Rolf A. Schmidt, vi. http://www.ssi-media.com/leppin/pic/Leppin_Hueter_Einleitung.pdf (accessed 8 January 2017).

[29] Vladimír Frída, "Prostituce v Praze v letech 1919–1922," *Věstník hlavního města Prahy* 23/24 (27 December 1923): 324.

[30] Archiv hlavního města Prahy (hereafter AHMP), Nevěstince v Praze, Box 494, "Prostituce," *Věstník obecní král. hlav. města Prahy* 9/5 (8 March 1902), 32; and Připomínka, 11 November 1906.

Map 3. Central Prague, with two of the city's most famous brothels and the streets where some clandestine and tolerated prostitutes lived and worked.

Illustration 3.1. Old Town's Anežská ulice, home to the narrowest brothel in the city (AHMP/Prague).

Pečírka explained that despite the efforts of Prague police, who had long sought to keep prostitutes out of the public eye in the interest of physical and moral health,[31] clandestine and independent prostitutes still walked the city streets at night. He described the danger they posed to "unsuspecting" members of the bourgeoisie, because independent prostitutes, unlike brothel prostitutes, could go virtually anywhere in public. In addition to the nightspots they frequented in search of prospective clients, according to Pečírka, prostitutes found men on the street, in bars, theaters, and trams, even in churches—almost anywhere people congregated.[32] In the evening, Pečírka claimed, these women shared the streets of the city center with members of the better classes, who were returning from the theatre or other social events.[33]

Some independent prostitutes lived on the mezzanines or in the attic apartments of apartment buildings whose bourgeois residents had previously had "no idea"

[31] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, Bericht des k.k. Polizei-Oberkomissärs Ludwig Chevalier in Prag, 3 January 1907.

[32] On prostitutes in public spaces, see for example Paulo Guinote, "The Old Bohemian Lisbon (c. 1870–c.1920): Prostitutes, Criminals, and Bohemians," *Portuguese Studies* 18 (2002): 72.

[33] Pečírka's exhaustive comments are contained in his twenty-two-page "Bericht des Prof. M.U. Dr. F. Pečírka, Polizei-Chefarztes in Prag," 9 January 1907, ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121.

about tolerated prostitution and were now exposed to it, Pečírka claimed. In addition to aggravating property owners, these women came into contact with the daughters of the bourgeoisie, having a deleterious effect on the morals of the less intelligent girls. As Edward Ross Dickinson has written, Wilhelmine German morals groups alleged that immature girls considered tolerated prostitutes, who did not need to work, yet wore "such nice clothes," to be role models. Indeed, the "good" women of Prague sometimes copied the expensive, even luxurious, dress of some "higher-end" prostitutes. The bourgeois women of nineteenth-century France were also alleged to have adopted the fashion of prostitutes. Prostitutes' visibility had given them the reputation of serving as models for Parisian fashion, according to Jann Matlock. Their dress was another way in which prostitutes could be indistinguishable from "honorable" women.[34]

Pečírka's comments highlighted what Ploch—like Merta in Vienna—considered an advantage of the brothel prostitute: her relative lack of independent movement. She could not, he explained, walk the streets at night pursuing a "honky-tonk vagabond lifestyle"; she could not attract men or minors; she could not skip her medical examinations; and she could be forced to uphold stricter sanitary standards than the independent prostitute. The greatest benefit of tolerated prostitution was that it limited the risk of disease. In contrast to Vienna, as late as November 1913, the Prague police physicians examined free of charge those prostitutes who lacked means to pay for their examinations. Those with sufficient income paid two crowns per visit. Police turned over women seized for practicing clandestine sex who had "suspicious symptoms" to the General Hospital in New Town for a precise diagnosis.[35] None of these advantages spoke to benefits for the prostitute.[36]

In contrast to the other Prague respondents, abolitionist Protivenski rejected moral and public-hygiene arguments for regulation. He did not oppose the system because it limited prostitutes' freedom; rather, he condemned it as "worthless" because only 10 percent of prostitutes were under police surveillance, the same estimate as Viennese authorities provided. Protivenski asserted that regulation meant that the government recognized prostitution as something "necessary" and "useful," which offended the moral sensibilities of much of the population. Above all Protivenski condemned brothels themselves. He claimed that these establishments by their "very appearance as brothels" led directly to sexual debauchery and too often enticed the visitor to the "most extravagant orgies," which were far less likely in sexual congress with an independent prostitute at another location, where the sex act was "the mere raw satisfaction of a purely animal instinct." Apart from the "hideousness" of brothel practices, which he did not enumerate, but which he

[34] See Jann Matlock, *Scenes of Seduction: Prostitution, Hysteria, and Reading Difference in Nineteenth-Century France* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 26–7, 32, on the difficulty of distinguishing prostitutes from other, "good" women; and 78, on French prostitutes as models for Parisian fashion. See also Dickinson, *Sex, Freedom, and Power in Imperial Germany*, 25.

[35] Státní okresní archiv Děčín (hereafter SOkAD), Archiv města Děčín (hereafter AMD), Box 215, [Ludwig] Chevalier to Bürgermeisteramt Tetschen a.d. Elbe, 1 November 1913.

[36] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, Wenzel Ploch to k.k. Polizei-direkction [sic], 7 June 1907.

charged could all too easily move into (bourgeois) family life, they could lead to sexual aberration among those who had their first carnal experience with a prostitute. This argument was in contrast to regulationists who argued that by channeling precisely this kind of sexual excess to the prostitute, brothels kept it out of the bourgeois family. Protivenski claimed that there might be some justification for regulation if it really did prevent the spread of venereal disease, but it did not. The prostitute, once infected, posed a constant danger. (Protivenski did not mention Merta's argument that the forced hospitalization of tolerated prostitutes found to have venereal disease prevented them from infecting still more men.)[37]

Alone among provincial officials, Protivinski mentioned the lack of legislation on male prostitution and was one of few to comment on trafficking/pandering. The silence on male prostitution is evidence that the overwhelming majority of the public and functionaries could only conceive of prostitution as a female profession, when clearly it was more than that. Protivenski claimed that pandering was the greatest "plague" of the brothel economy—the result, he argued, of competition among brothels to regularly "refresh" their residents with the youngest, prettiest attractions. Thus, "an entire army of agents without conscience" sought to populate the brothels, when possible, with inexperienced virgins. Brünn's Mährenheim also described "professional" traffickers, even naming some local men involved in the unsavory business. His conclusion was more sanguine than Protivenski's. He commented that with cooperation, these men could be caught and imprisoned.[38]

The district captain in northern Bohemian Gablonz, who had earlier worked in Prague, was one of few other voices among provincial officials to demand the end of brothel prostitution. Rejecting the argument that brothels were a "necessity," like Protivenski, this man sought their closing on grounds of humanity, hygiene, and morality. He noted that even where prostitution regulations were closely observed, which he asserted was rarely the case, tolerated prostitutes were responsible for a "significant" percentage of venereal disease cases. Disease levels would drop with the closing of brothels, he argued, because prostitutes would no longer have an economic incentive to hide their illness. He condemned brothel keepers as "morally depraved" individuals who consciously led "people to moral ruin, agonizing suffering, and a miserable death for their own advantage."[39] He cited the Riehl trial as proof that most prostitutes were "treated worse than slaves." Describing competition among brothels, he asserted that their closing would immediately stop pandering.[40]

[37] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 13479/07, Bericht des k.k. Polizei-Oberkomissärs Franz Protivenski in Prag, n.d.

[38] See Brünn police investigations of alleged traffickers Cyril Petula and Josef Wittmann, reflecting Mährenheim's sentiments, LPDW, PM, 1908 and later.

[39] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, k.k. Bezirkshauptmannschaft to k.k. Stattahlterei in Prag, 10 February 1907.

[40] Although urban public opinion in German- and Italian-speaking Tyrol was inclined toward regulation, the government official who responded to Vienna advocated dispensing with the entire monitoring system and prohibiting brothels, because in terms of improving public morals and battling venereal disease, he, like the Gablonz and Prague abolitionists, considered the existing system to be in all respects "inadequate and irredeemable." He also mentioned compulsory reporting for venereal disease via implementation of an imperial epidemic law in those areas where syphilis posed a particular threat.

Finally, the official opposed brothels in his community because of the "unwanted people" they attracted. As elsewhere, they were "notorious libertines, those with hereditary diseases, old men, and immature boys."[41]

Like Prague and Trieste, Czernowitz permitted a mixed system of prostitution. At the beginning of 1906, there were sixty-three tolerated prostitutes in the city. Half of them lived in brothels, many located in the old Jewish part of town, while the others lived independently, some near the local garrisons or the Volkspark. The vice police regulations were based on Vienna's from 1900. Since the Riehl trial, "numerous and authoritative voices," probably from the local branch of the Liga, had called for Czernowitz's tolerated brothels to be closed, claiming that the prostitutes who lived there were "exploited and illegally detained" and that brothels abetted trafficking in women. [42] Provincial officials asserted that this was not the case. They argued that brothels were the only measure available against the streetwalkers who were so offensive to smaller-town morals, and that the expulsion of prostitutes from the brothels onto the streets would be inappropriate. Thus, provincial officials proposed measures to assure that brothel prostitutes were not exploited. They included fixed tariffs for the prostitute, depending on the local situation, and rigorous enforcement of brothel compliance.

Addressing the material conditions of tolerated prostitutes, the Czernowitz official claimed that brothel prostitutes were economically better off than independent prostitutes. Reflecting the attitude that prostitutes were dull-witted or reckless, or both, he wrote that occasionally a prostitute who lived in one of the "better houses," and who had "sufficient economic sense" could fairly quickly save "a not inconsiderable amount," an observation the Viennese police also made. In contrast, independent prostitutes without exception had to struggle against the greatest misery. This owed in part to the fact that, despite all official efforts to the contrary, the women had pimps who demanded a cut of their earnings. The provincial governor of Dalmatia also described the precarious existence of brothel prostitutes, although he believed that cases of pandering were rare. While there was no record of a woman held against her will in Dalmatian brothels, tolerated brothel prostitutes were in de facto bondage. The prostitute's position was unstable, despite her relatively high monthly earnings, because the brothel keeper exploited her.[43] This was precisely the situation that the Viennese vice police and other concerned officials sought to avoid when they proposed changes in regulations following the Riehl trial.

Bukovinian authorities' comments on the spread of venereal disease showed concern about it being brought into brothels by clients rather than being passed on to them by prostitutes. They claimed that despite the instruction tolerated prostitutes received on how to recognize signs of venereal infection in potential clients, the women continued to engage in sexual relations with diseased men. This

[41] Article 19 of Trieste's 1907 regulations also banned immature males from brothels.

[42] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 8008/07, Czernowitz, Zl. 7052, 2 March 1907.

[43] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 13355/07, Statthalter in Zara to k.k. Minister des Innern, 17 April 1907.

comment ignored the fact that Czernowitz's prostitutes might be illiterate or not necessarily fluent in the language of the police in multi-ethnic Bukovina, where German, Polish, Romanian, Ukrainian, and Yiddish, among other languages, were spoken in the brothels. The women then became infected, and between their medical examinations, infected their other clients.[44] This situation could only be remedied by the recently proposed medical examination of brothel visitors upon entry, which assumed that tolerated prostitutes would all be living in brothels. If brothel visitors were not going to be examined, then prostitutes needed to be examined daily. These were radical proposals which the military would not suggest even during the First World War, when venereal disease rates skyrocketed.

Writing from Graz, Styrian governor Count Edmund von Attems explained that while from the medical and police monitoring standpoint brothels were most effective, their construction was not feasible everywhere. Brothels were permitted in Graz only insofar as they "fit" with the neighborhood and caused no public aggravation.[45] They were divided into two classes based on the number of rooms they had: the larger brothels, or first class; and the smaller, or second class. Police physicians examined prostitutes twice weekly, those living in first-class brothels in the establishment itself, for which they were paid two crowns per examination. The prostitutes in Graz's second-class brothels were inspected free of charge at the police examination room.

Following the Riehl trial, local regulations were amended on the example of Vienna's in terms of prostitution examinations, brothel inspections, and prostitute-brothel keeper relations. Police officials would regularly inspect Graz's brothels. Monitoring was to focus above all on the hygienic condition of the prostitutes. As in Vienna, police expected prostitutes to come to their headquarters with complaints the women had about their brothels. Inspections would offer the police the opportunity to query the prostitutes on their living situation, while providing the women another opportunity to make complaints in the absence of the brothel keeper. To protect the prostitute, her room and board agreement with the brothel keeper was to be in writing and available upon request to the police. The brothel keeper, a woman whom the police had to deem "acceptable," was to charge the prostitutes only for room and board. She was not permitted to sell them anything. In the absence of a judicial lien, no brothel keeper could withhold a prostitute's possessions as had been the case at the Riehl establishment and elsewhere. If the brothel keeper were charged with an offense in connection with the brothel, or repeated police penalties for violation of police regulations, the brothel could immediately be closed. Finally, prostitutes had the right to reject certain kinds of guests.[46]

[44] Laurie Bernstein in *Sonia's Daughters: Prostitutes and their Regulation in Imperial Russia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 49, describes Russian prostitutes seeking to have their clients subjected to medical tests. I have not found any cases of prostitutes in late imperial Austria making this suggestion.

[45] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2122, 13479/07, k.k. Statthalter to k.k. Ministerium des Innern, 20 April 1907.

[46] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2122, 13479/07, to the k.k. Oberstaatsanwaltschaft, 14 March 1907.

The senior prosecutor argued that regulations, police registration, routine medical examinations, and even the composition of the brothel visitors themselves constituted a defense against the exploitation of the "girls." Indeed, according to a city council report, it was impossible to take advantage of Graz's tolerated prostitutes.[47] The governor concluded that the proposals would not do away with prostitution, whose complete eradication was impossible, only lessen the anathema. Prostitution would be ameliorated, he wrote, if the conditions that caused it were alleviated. He identified these as lack of a source of income for women and inability of many people to marry because men lacked the economic means to support a family.[48]

Most of the officials in large cities echoed the Viennese officials in seeking to have prostitution placed on sound legal footing, rather than merely its toleration. Prague's Ploch called for tolerated prostitution to be placed on a legal basis so as to correct the situation that had disturbed Viennese police. The governor's office in Trieste asserted that provisions of paragraph 512 stood in the way of a "proper" regulation because the statutory provisions allowed only toleration, rather than express permission for and control of prostitution.[49] The Czernowitz vice police complained that their instructions lacked the clear and precise statutory provisions to enable them to take a consistent approach to regulation.[50] Rather than demanding change in Austrian criminal law they called for a standard based on existing law, one recognizing that this "necessary evil" was sometimes permissible. While recognizing their pitfalls, these men still preferred brothels, because of the ease with which prostitutes could be observed, examined, and, they believed, controlled.

PROSTITUTION IN MIDDLE-SIZED AND SMALLER MUNICIPALITIES

There were brothels, most housing fewer than ten prostitutes, in medium-sized and small cities throughout Austria. In some smaller municipalities, an individual tolerated prostitute or two might live in rooms connected to an inn where some of them also worked as waitresses or chambermaids. Such accommodations were also often referred to as brothels. Reports stressed that in these locales police had personal knowledge of the actors. In contrast to Vienna, where some police had advocated the immediate closure of brothels in the wake of the Riehl affair, many authorities concurred with Silesian provincial officials, who advocated brothels as

[47] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 13479/07, Oberstaatsanwalt to k.k. Statthalterei in Graz, 14 March 1907.

[48] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 13479/07, k.k. Statthalter to k.k. Ministerium des Innern, 20 April 1907. The Tyrolian provincial administration planned to encourage measures to improve the situation of servants as well as to promote facilities that would permit the "fallen" girl to return to a moral way of life, see ÖSA, MdI, Allg, AVA, PM, Box 2121, 10199/07, k.k. Statthalterei-Präsidium to k.k. Ministerium, 23 March 1907.

[49] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, Statthalterei in Triest to k.k. Ministerium des Innern, 17 May 1907; ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 13479/07, for information on regulation in Graz and Styria in general.

[50] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 8008/07, Czernowitz, 2 March 1907.

the most effective way to keep prostitutes off the street and protect the morals and the health of their residents by concentrating these women in one location.[51] Indeed, local officials proudly described their modern brothels with "luxuriously appointed rooms" for the prostitutes, like the state-of-the-art, purpose-built establishment that had been opened in Villach, Carinthia in November 1904. While local police argued for transparency in terms both of prostitutes and their clients, claiming that this helped them in their task of regulation, they too believed that the public should be shielded from brothels.

In addition to demonstrating that surveillance of prostitutes was more effective in smaller municipalities than larger ones, these reports reveal the widespread presence of regulation—and the variation in how it was applied—in smaller municipalities. Local officials parroted those in Austria's metropolises, asserting that prostitution was a "necessary evil." They claimed, almost without exception, that brothel prostitution was the best solution for their towns because it offered the best possibility of control, especially for venereal disease surveillance.

Respondents' descriptions of the larger environment in which prostitutes operated reveal efforts to keep them out of the public eye. Many municipalities had long forbidden brothels on busy streets and squares or near official, religious, and educational buildings. Unlike Czernowitz, Prague, and Trieste, where brothels were often located in the city center, in many smaller locales they were located near the railway station or discreetly on the less-trafficked side streets, often those leading out of town.[52] On the one hand, there were varying prohibitions on where brothels could be located, while on the other, particular elements like colored lights, often red, or sometimes painted doorframes—red, but also blue, and other colors—were used outside brothels to identify the "business," so prostitutes did not sit in brothel windows, especially in a state of undress.[53] As in larger cities, many smaller municipalities required that heavy curtains be drawn over the brothel windows day and night, or that the windowpanes be frosted glass. Some municipalities forbade prostitutes to gather in the doorway of the brothel. A common concern among those who monitored the trade throughout Austria was that prostitutes not wear clothing in public that would attract attention.[54] Regulations in smaller municipalities also limited particular kinds of behavior, among them flirting, winking, and smiling, even access to some public spaces, showing how and where independent and brothel prostitutes sought—or were believed to have sought—to attract clients.

The Graz city attorney raised a possible problem that was unsurprising in an empire whose inhabitants spoke myriad languages: The in-migration of

[51] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 6033/06, Aufnahmeschrift, 13 November 1906; 8008/07, and k.k. schlesische Landesregierung to k.k. Ministerium des Innern, 6 March 1907.

[52] See for example Magistrat in Klagenfurt, "Vorschrift für die Überwachung der Prostitution in Klagenfurt," 28 January 1882.

[53] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 8008/07, Bericht der k.k. Landesregierung in Salzburg, Etwurf über die Regulung des Prostitutionswesens, paragraph 9, n.d. (probably early 1907).

[54] See for example the requirement that registered prostitutes not wear "noticeable" or "indecent" clothing, ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121 "Polizeiliche Anordungen betreffend die Überwachung der Prostitution in Stadtgebiete Teplitz-Schönau," 15 April 1903.

other-language prostitutes produced linguistic misunderstandings with the local residents. Because they lacked command of the colloquial speech, prostitutes from outside the region could not prevent local brothel keepers from cheating them. He noted that, because of the language difference, prostitutes in nearby Marburg, a predominantly German-speaking city of some 12,500 in southern Styria surrounded by a Slovene-speaking countryside, might quickly become indebted to the brothel keeper, and, as in the Riehl case, become dependent or even prisoners.[55] Marburg's mayor echoed these sentiments, remarking that although local prostitutes had heretofore not complained about being cheated, such a possibility could not be discounted, because in addition to providing room and board, the brothel keeper also provided clothing, millinery, and other articles on credit to women who were doubly isolated: by their language and their employment.[56]

Franz Ohnsorg, the mayor of Aussig, a northern Bohemian industrial city of some 40,000, confidently asserted that the "situation that occurred in Salon Riehl could not have happened" under his watch, where prostitutes were tolerated in seven brothels. He demonstrated how local prostitutes were regulated for public health: they were obliged to visit the physician immediately upon arrival in Aussig, even before registering with the police. In contrast to earlier Viennese practice, prostitutes were already compelled to register and unregister personally with the local police, who made them aware of their rights and responsibilities and informed them of any recent changes in regulations. The last suggests that some women regularly entered and left local brothels. Ohnsorg claimed that there had never been problems with regulation in Aussig. Had there been, he asserted, the vice police would not have hesitated to close the brothels.[57]

Ohnsorg's detailed description of regulation demonstrates the role of the well-known Habsburg bureaucracy in action. Aussig rules paralleled those in Vienna, with local variations. A woman seeking to register as a prostitute had to satisfy four requirements: that she be at least seventeen years old, rather than eighteen as in Vienna; that she have previously been registered with vice police elsewhere, demonstrating that she had already made the decision not to follow a "proper" life path; that she produce a *Heimatschein* (certificate of residency), a *Dienstboten-buch*, and an *Arbeitsbuch* (workbook) from her hometown, or a passport; and that the city physician have certified her as completely healthy. Registration involved a series of printed forms similar to those employed elsewhere in the Monarchy. One contained her name, date and place of birth, place of official residence, and civil status. It included three questions: had the woman previously been under vice police control; was she aware that she was registering as a prostitute; and was she voluntarily placing herself under vice police surveillance? Other forms were a

[55] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 13479/07, k.k. Oberstaatsanwalt in Graz, 14 March 1907.
[56] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 13479/07, Stadtrat Marburg to k.k. steirm. Statthalterei!, 19 December 1906.
[57] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, Bürgermeister Aussig to k.k. Bezirkshauptmannschaft Aussig, 21 December 1906.

police-issued certificate of registration; an extract from the prostitution regulations, signed by the prostitute; and a health book for recording her medical examinations.[58] Only after she had fulfilled these requirements could a woman take up employment in a brothel.

Smaller towns, like Friedek in Silesia, which had about 10,000 residents in the first decade of the twentieth century, also had brothels. Friedek officials wrote that until the house, where two to four prostitutes lived, had been opened in 1903, "waitresses, dissolute factory workers, and servants" had practiced prostitution more or less clandestinely, but during the summertime often outdoors and completely "impudently." They were regularly disappointed with their relatively meager earnings, and quickly sought better positions elsewhere. Friedek's mayor concluded that registered prostitutes in brothels offended public morals far less than clandestine prostitutes, who, he asserted, were actually not so clandestine at all, living as they did in the public's midst.[59]

Friedek police now kept the tolerated prostitutes under strict surveillance, ensuring their twice-weekly medical examinations. Brothel prostitutes, who were not local, often changed because the women were regularly hospitalized for treatment of venereal disease. Physicians had earlier observed syphilis, chancre, and even vermin as a result of commercial sexual congress, but disease levels had dropped noticeably because of greater cleanliness and medical control in the brothels.

The variation in what constituted "regulation" of prostitution across Austria was revealed in the practices of small and medium-sized municipalities. In most, the women underwent weekly, twice-weekly, or even thrice-weekly examinations, with local regulations laying out who bore the cost of the examination. At least one town did not require health books. While women seeking to register with police in Komotau, a medium-sized city in industrializing northwestern Bohemia, had to undergo medical examinations upon arrival and found to be healthy before starting to work, this was the last time they were thoroughly examined. Officials were planning to institute regular examinations.[60]

Reflecting concern about venereal disease and other work-related ailments that prostitutes might contract, as well as their possible reluctance to go to the hospital, the physician in Jungbunzlau, northern Bohemia, recommended that prostitutes be examined in hospitals if possible, where "appropriate measures" could best be taken for their health. District authorities in Leitmeritz, also in northern Bohemia, required that any prostitute found to have venereal disease be delivered to the hospital. The innkeeper with whom she was registered was obliged to pay for up to four weeks of her hospital care. Moreover, women found to have VD were not

[58] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, Bürgermeister to k.k. Bezirkshauptmannschaft, 21 December 1906; and Annexes, Aussig.

[59] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 8008/07, k.k. schlesische Landesregierung to k.k. Ministerium des Innern, 6 March 1907.

[60] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 23042/07, k.k. Bezirkshauptmannschaft Jungbunzlau to k.k. Statthalterei in Prag, 25 Janaury 1907; and 4548/07, k.k. Bezirkshauptmannschaft Komotau to k.k. Statthalterei in Prag, 17 January 1907.

permitted to return to brothel employment in Leitmeritz for six months following their release from the hospital.[61]

Hospital officials in Jägerndorf, Silesia highlighted some of the difficulties of treating infected prostitutes in smaller municipalities, even where there was a hospital. Local hospitals were small and the beds often occupied. Prostitutes with venereal disease constituted a sort of unloved "stepchild" among patients whom doctors and nurses treated only reluctantly. If hospital administrators denied these women admission, they had to be transported to Troppau, the provincial capital, which was about 24 kilometers away. Police accompanying prostitutes was "too noticeable" and "too expensive," but absent this measure, there was no guarantee that the women would actually go to the hospital. Moreover, relevant police correspondence sent by post arrived too late, and telephoning the capital about each infected prostitute was too expensive. Among the changes made to Jägerndorf's prostitution regulations in response to the Ministry of Interior decrees was obliging the brothel keeper to take the infected prostitute to the hospital. As in Vienna, there were proposals to construct a separate addition dedicated to treating venereal disease to the local, or one of the regional hospitals. Specialists would run this section of the hospital.[62] Brünn mayor Mährenheim offered a justification to separate prostitutes from other women in venereal disease wards: "notorious" prostitutes sought to procure their hospital roommates for their brothels.[63]

Contrasting their experience in smaller towns with the experience of Austrian metropolises, a number of these officials argued that closed brothels were the best way to keep prostitutes off the street, enabling them to be more easily monitored, and thus ensure public morals and public health.[64] Officials' other concern was to remove "independent" but especially clandestine prostitutes from public places.[65]

PROSTITUTION IN INDUSTRIAL REGIONS

The rapidly expanding Ostrau-Karwin coalmining region, the largest in the Monarchy, was ethnically and religiously mixed (Czech, German, Slovak, Polish; Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant). Many of the cities in and near the region permitted brothels to service the men who had migrated there to work. Mährisch Ostrau, in Moravia, whose population was more than 30,000; nearby Teschen, Silesia's second city, with a population of about 21,500; and even Schönichel, a

[61] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 23042/07, k.k. Bezirkshauptmannschaft Leitmeritz to k.k. Stathalterei in Prag, 23 January 1907.

[62] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 8008/07, k.k. schlesische Landesregierung to k.k. Ministerium des Innern, 6 March 1907.

[63] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 8008/07, Bürgermeister to k.k. mähr. Statthalterei Präsidium, 7 January 1907.

[64] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 6033/06, Aufnahmeschrift, 13 November 1906; 8008/07, k.k. schlesische Landesregierung to k.k. Ministerium des Innern, 6 March 1907.

[65] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 31633/07, k.k. Hofrat to k. k. Statthalterei in Prag, 1 February 1907.

small rural community on the important Oderberg railway junction close to the Silesian-Galician border, had brothels.[66] In Mährisch Ostrau, the center of this heavy industrial region, "wild," that is, clandestine, and tolerated prostitution (in four brothels, each housing six prostitutes) co-existed in "completely unsatisfactory moral conditions," in part the result of the concentration of a "largely foreign, migratory, and uncultured proletariat," the majority of them male.[67] Provincial officials described the local prostitutes as "typical": "mentally slow," lazy maids or factory workers, but they were also young women from nearby rural areas and poor families whom panderers brought to brothels. Without moral support, these women soon fell victim to their dissolute environment.

The world of prostitution in Teschen was in many ways akin to that of Mährisch Ostrau. Liquor was served in both of Teschen's brothels, where prostitutes regularly had intercourse with clients in the lounges. If the prostitutes failed to fulfill their "obligations" with clients, they were immediately fired, often in their "work" clothes, which were "unfit for bourgeois eyes." Brothel keepers' lack of concern for their prostitute employees was to be expected, according to local officials, because these men ran their brothels in "ruthless" pursuit of their own interests. They profited from the disorder and so enriched themselves at the expense of the poor women who had fallen into prostitution that they could soon retire.

Teschen's city physicians had begun conducting strict health inspections, but the police surveillance in general had not been well handled because "disorderly conditions" prevailed, according to the provincial government. It recommended stricter regulations for Teschen's brothels, including the banning of spirits (as elsewhere, to prevent drunken excesses and the exploitation of clients at the hands of brothel keepers and prostitutes, but also to get clients in and out of the brothel quickly), denying entry to drunks, abolishing the brothels' entertainment lounges, and providing the prostitutes their own individual rooms. Also proposed were thrice-weekly medical examinations in a well-lit space in the brothel. Health books, already standard for recording medical examinations elsewhere in Austria, were to be implemented. Physicians' visits would have both medical and pedagogical purposes. Not only would prostitutes be checked for venereal disease, but the physician would have an opportunity to teach the prostitutes about "occupational diseases" and warn them to avoid sexual congress with men who appeared to be infected with venereal disease.

[66] Schönichel officials had tightened regulations following the Riehl trial to resolve the problem of exploitation. While those dating from September 1905 stressed the importance of medical examinations and the obligations of the prostitute to look and behave "respectably" in public, supplementary rules instituted in response to the Riehl trial focused on protecting the prostitute from exploitation by the brothel keeper and maltreatment by brothel guests and others. ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 8008/07, k.k. schlesische Landesregierung to k.k. Ministerium des Innern, 6 March 1907.

[67] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 8008/07, Äusserung des Stadtvorstandes Mähr. Ostrau für den Bürgermeister to k.k. Bezirkshauptmannschaft in Mähr. Ostrau, 30 January 1907.

SPAS AND SUMMER RESORTS

Scores of women traversed provincial and national borders every spring to service clients in the spa towns that dotted much of Austria. In the spas of Upper Austria, the regulation of prostitution occured "only during the season,"[68] when the population burgeoned with visitors and tourists, some of whom were women who engaged in commercial sex. In other resorts, there was no regulation at all. When these women's behavior brought them to the attention of locals, they might be placed under police supervision for the duration of their stay. With the influx of visitors at the height of the summer tourist season, police had difficulty monitoring any kind of prostitution, including the increased clandestine variety. In Marienbad, part of the world-famous western Bohemian "spa triangle," where prostitutes were obliged to leave after about four weeks, the local government suggested providing women who came to town for seasonal sexual employment with a limited-time identification card before they began work.

During the season women from throughout the Monarchy and Italy streamed into the Tyrolian spas and other resort towns in the mountains and by the lakes along the Monarchy's southern rim. Local Tyrolian officials noted that prostitution in many smaller municipalities was practiced almost solely by women passing through on their way to "work" in the province's southern spas. They engaged in casual, commercial sex during their brief stopovers, but their trade did not pose a public nuisance.[69] Who were these women? Some of them were servants whose employers had let them go when they went to the country for the summer. Others were laid-off factory workers.[70] Arriving at their destination, these women initially registered as spa guests, or found employment as maids or waitresses in hotels, while engaging in the trade on the side. According to one district official, given the miserable pay of hotel waitresses, those seeking to control prostitution should focus on hotels. Indeed, during tourist season large numbers of female staff worked in these establishments without wages, and thus depended on the income prostitution provided.

Prostitution was not regulated in the medieval city of Meran, the spa in southern Tyrol near some of the garrison towns, made famous by the visits of Habsburg Empress Elisabeth in the second half of the nineteenth century, but that did not mean there were no prostitutes. If prostitutes caused a "public nuisance," the police expelled them if they lacked the right of residency. Meran officials had in mind introduction of regulation and health-police control of prostitutes. The district administration sought the strict enforcement of regulations by the health police and the expulsion of those prostitutes who rejected medical examinations.

Although residents of Karlsbad, the largest city in Bohemia's spa triangle, complained about clandestine prostitutes, attitudes toward prostitution in the

[68] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2122, 32921/07, Ministerpräsident betreffend die Neuregelung der Prostitutionsüberwachung, 28 November 1907.

[69] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, PM, Box 2121, 10199/07, k.k. Statthalterei-Präsidium to k.k. Ministerium, 23 March 1907.

[70] Adelheid Popp-Dworschak, "Über die Wohnverhältnisse (als provozierendes Moment)," in "Die Enquete der ÖGBG," 100.

smaller spa towns were often casual. Prostitutes were not always registered with police, but might be obliged to leave town if they came to officials' attention. There were proposals to implement regulation in some Tyrolian spa towns, but otherwise, clandestine prostitution appears to have been treated as a temporary nuisance associated with seasonal business.

SOLDIERS, SAILORS, AND VENAL SEX

In his classic study *The Sexual History of the World War*, sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld described the correlation between soldiering and immorality: in garrison towns "immorality and illegitimate births increased, and indissolubly connected with these transgressions, pandering and abortion."[71] Some Habsburg officials, like those in Tyrol, which was home to numerous small garrison towns, believed that the very existence of garrisons encouraged the growth of prostitution. Others concluded that garrisons were among the best arguments for brothels, because any limitations on brothels would lead to an even greater problem: the dangerous, unregulated prostitute in private quarters. In one unnamed garrison town, where there had initially been neither brothels nor registered prostitutes, both the residents and some officers advocated the construction of brothels. Why? The soldiers, the majority of whom were twenty to twenty-six years old, "exactly the age of the greatest waves of sexual passion, posed a standing danger for the wives of the bourgeoisie and the workers, for their daughters, even for immature children." Sometimes, given the lack of outlets for "normal sexual satisfaction," soldiers might turn to masturbation, at the time believed to have dreadful consequences for mental and physical health, or to "perverse sexuality with one another."[72]

The Habsburg Ministry of Defense was concerned about venereal disease rates, which were higher in the Austro-Hungarian army than in armies of other foreign states that tolerated prostitution. The military stressed the pernicious consequences of VD, enumerating the severe damage to the mind and nervous system, the risk syphilitic parents posed to their offspring, and the "corrupting influence of chronic gonorrhea," including male infertility. Because both officers and the rank and file visited prostitutes, the military had been experimenting with prophylactic measures. A December 1906 report showed that there had been some success with regiments in Galicia, but the venereal disease rate continued to skyrocket in other garrison cities, like Czernowitz.[73] The focus on the connection between soldiers and venereal disease in garrison towns and port cities should be no surprise.

[71] Magnus Hirschfeld, *The Sexual History of the World War* (New York: Cadillac Publishing Co., Inc., 1946), 39.

[72] Heinrich Grün, *Prostitution in Theorie und Wirklichkeit* (Vienna: J. Deubler, 1907), 30; and Dickinson, *Sex, Freedom, and Power in Imperial Germany*, 21–2.

[73] On suggestions for police-military cooperation in attempts to battle venereal disease in Czernowitz, see *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 28 April 1908, 4; see also Kriegsarchiv (hereafter KA) /KM/ 14 Abt. (1906)/3402.3428 Venerie u. Syphilis bei 39–5 von 1907, 12 March 1907.

The large number of clandestine prostitutes—and their connection to venereal disease—was a major concern in garrison towns, as the police comments from Theresienstadt, the northern Bohemian fortress town that had been constructed during Emperor Joseph II's reign in the late eighteenth century, reveal. Mirroring the military's primary concern about prostitution, the police focused on venereal disease, advocating more stringent treatment of clandestine prostitutes whom they considered responsible for the spread of VD among soldiers. They asserted that prostitutes with venereal disease were far more dangerous than infected men, because the disease limited the sexual function of men on physiological grounds, but not of women. The military continued to call for close monitoring of clandestine prostitutes and for tightening controls on brothels.[74]

In the first decade of the twentieth century, Theresienstadt had fourteen brothels attached to inns, each housing one or two prostitutes. Neither the innkeepers nor the police closely observed prostitution regulations. The former often ignored rules concerning the separation of prostitutes from other inn guests, while the latter sometimes permitted women to stay in brothels without completing their registrations, and physicians did not regularly undertake prostitutes' mandated twice-weekly gynecological examinations.[75] Indeed, prostitutes' examinations were irregular and sometimes cursory. Local police cautioned, however, that venereal disease, widespread among the rank and file, was mainly caused by the numerous female vagrants not registered with police rather than by tolerated prostitutes. These vagrants had sexual congress with men in hotels, private rooms, the barracks, parks, and on the entrenchments. The soldiers they infected then took venereal disease back to the brothels as well as passing it on to local peasant women with whom they also had sexual relations.[76]

The narrative of the aggressive clandestine prostitute accosting soldiers is widespread in the literature. Michał Baczkowski has described the commander of Cracow's garrison, where military numbers varied between 9,000 and 12,000 from 1890 to 1910, seeking the cooperation of civil authorities in trying to prevent these women from going into the barracks area to find clients.[77] Milena Lenderová has also written of prostitutes besieging barracks in smaller Bohemian towns, while Bojan Cvelfar has described prostitutes frequenting the Laibach barracks, sometimes spending the night there.[78]

[74] In late 1910, the military command in northern Bohemian Kuttenberg, where there were forty registered prostitutes between the ages of sixteen and forty-five, called for closer monitoring of clandestine prostitutes, whom he held responsible for a recent rise in venereal disease rates among the ranks. See Státní okresní archiv Kutná Hora (hereafter SOkAKH), Fond Archiv města Kutná Hora, Policejní úřad (hereafter PÚ), Spisy 1900–1943, Box 120, Kais. und Königl. Militärstationskommando in Kuttenberg to der löbliche Bürgermeisteramt, 8 November 1910.

[75] My examination of prostitute records reveals continued inconsistency in completing registrations, mainly for women who stayed only briefly in Theresienstadt, for the duration of the Monarchy.

[76] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 23042/07, k.k. Bezirkshauptmannschaft Leitmeritz, 23 January 1907.

[77] Baczkowski, "Prostytucja w Krakowie," 599.

[78] Milena Lenderová, *Chytila patrola . . . aneb prostituce za Rakouska i republiky* (Prague: Karolinum, 2002), 68–9; and Bojan Cvelfar, "'No, zdaj pa če imaš denar, daj ga sem, potem se pa hitro z menoj

In predominantly rural Tyrol, where 17,826 soldiers were stationed by 1910, Brixen, Bozen, Trient, and Rovereto formed a chain of garrison towns along Austria's Alpine border with Italy. In addition to Innsbruck in the north of the province, which also had a large military presence, Bozen and Trient, the fortress city near the Italian border, were among the few locales in the province with formal regulation.[79] Officials noted that prostitution in Rovereto was practiced almost solely by previously mentioned prostitutes who were passing through on their way to work in the southern spas. They engaged in casual, commercial sex during their brief stopovers in that city, but according to authorities they did not pose a public nuisance.[80] Most of Tyrol's tolerated prostitutes were not locals; rather they hailed from other crown lands or Germany in regions bordering the Wilhelminian Reich, and Italy in the Italian-speaking regions.

Each of these municipalities had different regulations, reflecting the patchwork of local rules and traditions across Austria. Before Bozen's single brothel was opened, prostitutes had caused wholesale nuisance by streetwalking. The town had enacted strict prostitution regulations to protect public hygiene and morals, and the prostitutes only secondarily, but included some measures similar to those proposed for Vienna: brothel prostitutes were examined three times a week, outside the brothel and not in the keeper's presence. The prostitutes in any case regularly cycled in and out of town the result of deporation, and likely venereal disease or the practice of providing brothel clients with new sexual wares, because as Alain Corbin has noted, the reputation of a brothel rested on its offerings, and these needed to represent a certain "ethnological variety."[81]

After the expansion of the garrison in the Bozen district, clandestine prostitution had increased in the neighboring towns as women flocked there in search of soldier-clients. As in Theresienstadt, city fathers reported streetwalkers on the promenades and in the parks, including "provocative prostitution with pimps" in one badly lit suburban park. Indeed, the Tyrolian provincial administration reported that "sexual provocation" on the streets of the Bozen (and Innsbruck) regions, including the pimping of chambermaids, was one of the foremost prostitution-related challenges it faced. Clandestine prostitutes, they complained, often escaped police supervision. Most of the women lived, "unchallenged," in Bozen itself. Indeed, the gendarmerie punished only eight prostitutes in the district for vagrancy in 1906 and only one person had been charged under paragraph 512 (pandering).

In Bozen, officials proposed having the brothel's prostitutes removed from the city after a specified period, and continuing to have their gynecological exams

spolsko združi': k zgodovini tajne prostitucije v Ljubljani na začetku stoletja," *Zgodovina za vse* 1/2 (1994): 22. About 6.5 percent of the population of Laibach, which was also home to a military hospital and several garrisons, was military between 1890 and 1910. I thank Rok Stergar for this information.

[79] Innsbruck's population was 59,194, including 2,808 soldiers; Bozen's was 24,126, including 1,164 soldiers; and Trient's was 30, 049, including 3,284 soldiers.

[80] On prostitution in Tyrol, see ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 10199/07, k.k. Statthalterei Präsidium to k.k. Ministerium, 23 March 1907. See also Adalaide Popp-Dworzak, "Über die Wohnverhältnisse (als provozierendes Moment)," "Die Enquete der ÖGBG," 100.

[81] Alain Corbin, *Women for Hire: Prostitution and Sexuality in France after 1850*, trans. by Alan Sheridan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 70.

outside the brothel, not in the presence of the keeper, while advocating a strict ban on issuing health books to minors and on "unnatural" sex acts. They also proposed employing police of "a more mature age" for brothel surveillance, that is, men considered more capable of controlling their urges and less susceptible to prostitutes' wiles, and eventually replacing them with female supervisors. District authorities cautioned that the construction of additional brothels was impractical because police monitoring would only be possible if a police station were built for Bozen and two neighboring communities.

Some sixty kilometers south of Bozen, in Trient, there were two brothels, each housing three prostitutes. The women came mainly from Italy, where they had previously been under police supervision. As in Bozen, the regulations incorporated some of the standards the Viennese authorities had sought, but the prostitutes were older—the minimum age to work in a brothel was twenty-one; if the women were local, twenty-four, the age of majority.[82] In contrast to many other parts of Austria, neither women with previous criminal convictions nor those who had been under a physician's care for venereal disease were permitted to register with police. As in Aussig and many other provincial towns, there had been no accusations of mistreatment or limiting the personal freedom of tolerated prostitutes in Trient. Following the Riehl trial, however, local brothel keepers were threatened with fines and the closing of their houses if they violated prostitution regulations. To prevent clandestine prostitution, Trient police monitored women employed in guesthouses and sought to expel the women they picked up for clandestine prostitution who lacked the right to residence in the city.

In Innsbruck, there were differences of opinion over which kind of regulation was most effective. Independent prostitutes had been permitted since 1898, and garrison hospital records showed that the number of venereal disease cases had decreased since the adoption of obligatory examinations for prostitutes. The provincial government, however, proposed changing regulations to permit brothel prostitutes only, the better to oversee them and to limit streetwalking. The city council, in contrast, sought to allow both kinds, but to ensure that regulations protected the women from exploitation at the hands of those with whom they lodged and to provide them and their landlords/ladies with health regulations. The city council appears to have carried the day.[83]

Located on the Adriatic coast, Pola, the Habsburgs' chief naval port, was larger than Theresienstadt or the Tyrolian garrison towns.[84] Its population was 58,568,

[82] In Troppau, plans were also being made to register, insofar as possible, only "older" women (that is, those more than twenty-four years old), because these prostitutes were considered both more or less insensitive to infection and more aware of their rights vis-à-vis brothel keepers, and thus less likely to be exploited.

[83] The *Allgemeiner Tiroler Anzeiger* and the *Innsbrucker Nachrichten* occasionally mention local independent prostitutes, but not brothels. See for example *Allgemeiner Tiroler Anzeiger*, 13 October 1911, 5; and *Innsbrucker Nachrichten*, 2 December 1911, 4.

[84] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, k.k. Oberbezirkarzt B. Schiavuzzi to k.k. Bezirkshauptmannschaft, 12 January 1907; and k.k. Bezirkshauptmann to k.k. Statthalterei in Triest.

including 16,014 members of the military, in 1910. The large military presence in the city rendered it disproportionately male, especially when the navy was in port.[85]

The Riehl trial had great resonance in Pola, where a similar debt-bondage relationship between a brothel keeper and her sex workers had previously existed. The woman, Mathilde Löwy, reportedly from Hungary (no relation to Helene/Ilka Löwy in Chapter One), had run brothels in this predominantly Italian-speaking city, as well as the two in Laibach, Carniola's provincial capital. Owing to irregularities discovered at the Laibach brothels in early 1904, toleration of her houses there had been withdrawn, her prostitutes expelled, and Löwy had decamped to Pola,[86] where municipal officials had turned a deaf ear to complaints from the prostitutes she employed. The "hair-raising" situation existed because Löwy allegedly bribed them all: from the municipal clerk and municipal medical officer down to the last watchman.

Löwy, who had traveled regularly to select prostitutes, also made arrangements for their travel to Pola, so when the women arrived there, they were already in her debt. The madam then allegedly sought to maintain this relationship through the charges she levied on the prostitutes. As in the Riehl establishment, no prostitute was permitted to leave without permission once she had arrived at the brothel. To make certain no one did leave, Löwy, again like Riehl, allegedly placed the prostitutes' clothing under lock and key. In Pola, too, the prostitutes shared sleeping quarters, sleeping five to a room with a single window, which was covered with the heavy grill then standard in most Austrian brothels. The steep costs of room and board—200 to 240 crowns monthly—did not include breakfast, tea, heating, or payment of the brothel's staff. Finally, the prostitutes in Löwy's employ had to pay her half of whatever remained of their earnings. The prostitutes were then obliged to use any leftover funds to repay their debt to Löwy, and to purchase all of their necessities, said to be of low quality, from the brothel keeper at "exorbitant prices."[87]

Following a police decision to interview all of Löwy's prostitutes at the police station, and not in her presence, the women's documents were seized, presumably to check for irregularities in registration, and letters that revealed the existing situation were discovered in early 1905. Löwy's Pola brothels were closed sometime later in 1905. Conditions for tolerated prostitutes in the port city improved when the police commission placed all of the local brothels under strict surveillance.[88]

[85] *K.k. Statistischen Zentralkommission, Spezialortsrepertorium der österreichischen Länder*, Vol. 4: Österreichisch-illyrisches Küstenland (Vienna: Verlag der K.k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1918).

[86] Branka Grošelj, "Prostitucija v Ljubljani v prvih treh desetletjih 20. stoletja," *Kronika* 54/3 (2006): 451–64; LPDW, PM, 1907/2, to k.k. Polizeidirektion, 15 February 1907. The comment in the police archives that conditions for prostitutes in at least one of the Laibach brothels remained abysmal through 1907 because of the subsequent brothel keeper may be a reference to complaints about brothel food.

[87] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, k.k. Polizei-Kommissariat Pola, "Promemoria," 9 January 1907, attached to Bezirkshauptmannschaft Pola to k.k. Statthalterei in Triest, signed k.k. Bezirkshauptmann, 15 January 1907.

[88] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, k.k. Polizei-Kommissariat Pola, "Promemoria," 9 January 1907, attached to Bezirkshauptmannschaft Pola to k.k. Statthalterei in Triest, signed k.k. Bezirkshauptmann, 15 January 1907; and k.k. Statthalter to k.k. Ministerium des Innern, 15 May 1907.

The police forwarded detailed proposals for reform of regulation that echoed proposals elsewhere. They sought to place prostitution on legal footing and to prevent brothel keepers from exploiting prostitutes. Proposed regulations also forbade illiterate women to enter the brothels, reflecting the low literacy level of the region. The chief prefecture physician Bernhard Schiavuzzi, who contributed to the discussion, focused on the legal and hygienic aspects of regulation. Schiavuzzi asserted that regulation was important from the hygienic point of view because its absence could result in an outbreak of venereal disease. He, too, sought to have it legally regulated and protected, rather than tolerated. As he noted, it was "utter nonsense" to monitor something—prostitution—that was illegal. The mere existence of toleration reflected the fact that whatever the defects or irregularities of the tolerated thing, it still had to be tolerated because it was, quite simply, indispensable.[89]

Both the police and Schiavuzzi addressed employing brothel physicians, which the police proposed. The latter argued that the proposal was likely to fail because of the difficulty of finding a physician who would "degrade" himself before his colleagues by taking such a position. He explained that two years earlier Pola's medical commission had sought to find an "old, experienced" woman, a former prostitute, to examine potential male brothel clients for venereal disease. The local government had accepted the proposal, but there was no follow-through. Officials could not find a woman willing to undertake this job, nor could they find a brothel that would permit examinations of clients because local brothel owners worried about a client boycott.

Pola's district captain informed the provincial governor in Trieste that although it would be too expensive to employ brothel physicians, the district could easily bear the cost of placing a woman in front of each brothel as Schiavuzzi had mentioned. The women, after training at the medical office, would be paid to examine clients for venereal disease as they entered the brothel. The district captain also considered appropriate the proposal that the authorities, rather than the brothel keeper or the prostitutes, pay the physician examining the prostitutes. Like some other Austrian officials, he considered the most practical way to assure regular prostitute visits to physicians was that the state rather than the prostitutes or brothel keepers pay for examinations. The brothels, he noted, already paid high taxes, which could be used to cover physicians' payments.[90]

The responses from Theresienstadt, Pola, and Tyrol's garrison towns demonstrate why the Ministry of Interior had requested reports on regulated prostitution from them: clandestine prostitution and venereal disease were pervasive. Comments from Pola illustrate the creative, far-reaching steps officials were willing to take to eradicate VD in order to keep the military healthy. The Tyrolian provincial

[89] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, k.k. Polizei-Kommissariat Pola, "Promemoria," 9 January 1907, attached to Bezirkshauptmannschaft Pola to k.k. Statthalterei in Triest, signed k.k. Bezirkshauptmann, 15 January 1907.

[90] ÖStA, MdI, AVA, Allg, MP, Box 2121, Bezirkshauptmannschaft Pola to k.k. Statthalterei in Triest, 15 January 1907; and k.k. Oberbezirkarzt B. Schiavuzzi to k.k. Bezirkshauptmannschaft, 12 January 1907.

administration proposed the promotion of greater sexual self-discipline among members of the military, both officers and enlisted men, to prevent venereal disease, although it was unclear how this would work. He also sought social reforms to prevent the exploitation of the poor and to battle alcoholism, as well as instruction on the dangers of venereal disease, careful sex education for youth, and the opening of purpose-built hospitals to treat venereal disease. With caution, wrote the official, it would be possible to envisage compulsory reporting for venereal disease by way of implementation of an imperial epidemic law in those areas where syphilis was particularly acute.

PROSTITUTION IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

The provincial councilor in Brünn helped explain why small-town and rural officials had fewer problems with prostitutes than did those in larger urban areas. He noted that many prostitutes in the Moravian countryside had earlier been active in larger cities, but that their behavior soon met with objections from local residents, leading to their expulsion from the district if they lacked legal right of residence.[91] Writing shortly after the turn of the century, observer Heinrich Müller noted that in very small Bohemian and Moravian towns, men went to "traveling prostitutes." Indeed, Müller knew of some places in Moravia where women who engaged in commercial sex appeared from time to time somewhat akin to "traveling salesmen."[92] Throughout the rural Bohemian Lands, officials asserted that chambermaids in country hotels (with or without the knowledge and permission of the owner), female factory workers, and those women who were allegedly "too lazy to find work," down on their luck or otherwise dissipated, practiced clandestine prostitution, especially in the summertime. The dull-witted and "fallen women," as well as "young girls from poor rural families in isolated villages, whom middlemen delivered to the brothels," also participated in the trade.[93]

Tyrol's vice governor reported that there was virtually no prostitution to speak of in rural regions. There were "normal sexual relations" and "sexual incorruptibility" in the province's remote valleys and small communities that still maintained a simple way of life. The strong dogmatic ethic that worked against extramarital affairs was disappearing in larger municipalities, and there had been an increase in "illegitimate" relationships. He described the steady increase of extramarital sexual intercourse, prostitution, and the spread of venereal disease, owing to crowded living conditions, widespread alcoholism, and the like. Police measures and the obligatory medical examination of tolerated prostitutes had thus far had little success in halting any of these. The vice governor considered habitual extramarital

[91] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 8008/07, k.k. Hofrat, Statthaltereipräsidium für Mähren to MdI, 26 February 1907. See also the prostitute in Robert Musil's *Die Verwirrungen des Zöglings Törleß* (1906); reprint (Reinbek: Rowohlt Verlag, 2008).

[92] Heinrich Müller, *Staatsbordelle* (Vienna: Huber & Lahme [J. Walsche], 1904), 11.

[93] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 8008/07, k.k. schlesische Landesregierung to k.k. Ministerium des Innern, 6 March 1907.

sexual relations and clandestine prostitution, rather than regulated prostitutes, responsible for the spread of VD. Who was to blame? On the male side, he argued, the substantial rate of venereal disease in rural communities was primarily the result of returning emigrants and soldiers engaging in both marital and extramarital sexual relations. On the female side, barmaids and vagrants, and the "insane, who lacked sufficient supervision," spread venereal disease. So, too, had foundlings, orphans, and illegitimate children (some presumably the offspring of prostitutes) recently been spreading syphilis. Why was the disease widespread? According to the vice governor, broad swaths of the population were little aware of how great a threat venereal disease posed. The result was disastrous, because of these peoples' traditional modesty.[94]

Reports from Dalmatia claimed prostitution was less endemic there than elsewhere in Austria. Home to a large and relatively isolated peasant population, Dalmatia was among the poorest, least developed, least densely populated, and least literate provinces in Austria (62.8 percent in 1910). The document's author explained that there was a relative lack of prostitution because among Dalmatia's overwhelmingly rural people, extramarital sexual relations were limited almost solely to concubines, mainly in rural Greek Orthodox religious communities. There, with the permission of their parents, young men brought home girls whom they met at the annual fair as a kind of a rehearsal for marriage. If the relationship worked out, the couple married within the year; otherwise, the girl returned to her family. This had over time become conventional premarital practice. Concubinage as undertaken in the province, although immoral, he wrote, did not pose a public nuisance.[95]

While less formal than in cities, prostitution was part of the Habsburg rural landscape. It took various forms and was not a new social phenomenon. What was modern was the spread of venereal disease into the countryside, which had heretofore been considered "moral" and "pure" in contrast to the Monarchy's urban areas.

CONCLUSION

Like the physicians, police, and other officials tasked with monitoring regulated prostitution in Vienna, many of those who responded to the Ministry of Interior's questionnaire were familiar with contemporary literature on regulating prostitution and related issues like venereal disease, and employed language on the obligations of the modern state. While some elements of provincial regulation had been borrowed from Vienna, demonstrating connections between the center and the periphery, toleration in Austria was a complicated mix of local practices that owed in part to

[94] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 10199/07, k.k. Statthalterei Präsidium to k.k. Ministerium, 23 March 1907.

[95] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, Leiter der k.k. Statthalterei (Zara) to k.k. Ministerium, 26 October 1905.

widespread communal autonomy. The size of a particular municipality, as well as differing levels—and types—of industrialization and urbanization, varying geographic location, religious and social traditions, and political practices accounted for diverse attitudes toward the practice's efficacy. Especially in larger cities, practices, or proposed changes in practices for regulation mimicked those made in Vienna in late 1906. Officials reporting on middle-sized and smaller municipalities claimed their system of regulation functioned well, and thus did not need revision; others suggested changes to tighten regulation.

Officials' primary focus remained public hygiene, although some of the proposed changes were meant to improve the living situation of the tolerated prostitutes, who were of secondary concern. Most respondents advocated safeguarding the public from venereal disease, stressing the strict regime of medical examinations to which local tolerated prostitutes were subjected. Provincial and local officials were terrified about the spread of venereal disease to ever greater parts of the population, especially through clandestine prostitution. In municipalities of all sizes, working-class women whose morals aroused suspicion—especially barmaids and chambermaids—might be subjected to routine medical examinations. Proposals to protect the health and morals of bourgeois society varied, but included more stringent examinations, prohibiting prostitution in inns and taverns or locating brothels in busy parts of towns and cities, better educating prostitutes about venereal disease, and even employing physicians or "trained" female "amateurs," that is, former prostitutes, to examine potential clients for venereal disease before they entered brothels.

What resulted from the moment in late 1906 and 1907 when the Austrian state was trying to collect data on itself about the regulation of prostitution? The Ministry of Interior compiled the provincial and other reports into a summary narrative, which was presented to the Minister President in late 1907, but there was no single outcome from this undertaking. The report reflected a lack of consensus on how effective regulation was in terms of preventing venereal disease. What constituted "regulation" was in no way standardized, starting with the process of registering with police. Physicians did not always examine prostitutes regularly or thoroughly, nor did they necessarily record the results of tolerated prostitutes' examinations in health books. Neither was there consensus on who would pay for the prostitute's examinations; who, if anyone, was responsible for her registering for health insurance; or who was responsible for ensuring she went to a hospital should she be found to have venereal disease.[96] Forcing infected prostitutes into treatment remained difficult. Not only did many sex workers seek to avoid it, but there was an Austrian-wide lack of designated hospital beds for venereal disease patients. Officials who advocated toleration to prevent the spread of venereal disease disagreed on the degree to which—or why—the practice was successful.

Proposals to have male clients examined for VD before entering a brothel found little support, because it was assumed that men would not visit brothels that

[96] LPDW, PM, 1907/2, k.k. Bezirkshauptmannschaft Polizei-Abteilung (Zara) to k.k.Polizei Direktion, 28 October 1914.

employed such practices. Brothels were, after all, an ongoing economic concern that brought money in the form of taxes paid to city coffers where they were located. Without changes in Austrian criminal law, regulation remained a rag-tag collection of practices that might improve the lot of some tolerated prostitutes, but could not protect all bourgeois sensibilities so long as clandestine and independent prostitutes walked the same streets as did members of "good" society, nor did it do much to limit the spread of venereal disease.

Provincial reports reflected contemporary gendered understandings of prostitution. Protivenski in Prague considered brothel prostitutes to be victims rather than women who might have made a conscious decision to enter the sex trade, which he considered debauched. With the exception of the governor of the Austrian Littoral—who rejected them—none of the respondents appears to have paid attention to the voices of concerned bourgeois women's and other reform organizations. Even those men who suggested bettering working-class women's ability to support themselves to limit the number of prostitutes understood them in terms of being "fallen" and needing to be "saved." Most of them sought to improve the existing system rather than institute neo-regulation, that is, replacing police surveillance with medical surveillance, although this was advocated by some specialists. They remained a minority.

4

Brothel Life

Tolerated Prostitutes, their Clients, the Madams, and the Vice Police

> Now they stood by Aunt Resi's blue lantern.
> Captain Taittinger knocked on the bolted door.
> Someone opened.
> Inside the piano instantly began to tinkle: "The Radetzky March."
> The officers marched into the parlor.
>
> Joseph Roth, *Radetzky March*[1]

Local officials who tolerated brothels across Cisleithanian Austria considered them the best way to control women who sold sex, limiting the hygienic and moral danger prostitutes posed. As previous chapters demonstrate, regulated prostitutes lived under regimes that varied not only from place to place but also over time, as some municipalities amended their rules. Brothel residents were neither solely criminals nor victims, as many contemporaries asserted and some scholars have described them. Nor did they stand completely outside Austrian society; although regulation subjected them to police discipline and physicians' observation, most tolerated prostitutes were part of the Monarchy's large underclasses, which they moved into and out of during their careers. The people who participated in brothel prostitution, from the women who sold their bodies, through the brothel keepers for whom they worked, and the procurers who helped them move from establishment to establishment, to the officials who sanctioned tolerated brothels, even the military, were familiar with the rhetoric of tolerated brothels as the form of prostitution that best protected public health and public morals. They employed this discourse to their own—sometimes contradictory—ends.

An additional element in the world of prostitution was the clients. Who visited brothels? What kind of men were supposed to be protected by rules requiring prostitutes to have regular examinations? In contrast to the closely observed regulated prostitute, and other people in the world of commercial sex, we know relatively little about her overwhelmingly anonymous clients, who came from a wide range of social backgrounds. Government officials who revised prostitution regulations mentioned wealthy and successful men who might want a glass of

[1] Joseph Roth, *Radetzky March*, trans. Joachim Neugroschel (Woodstock, NY: The Overlook Press, 1995), 74–5.

champagne during their brothel visits. Some well-publicized trials of brothel keepers described bourgeois and aristocratic patrons, while other court cases, newspaper articles, and police reports mention men of far lesser means visiting brothels. Local brothel regulations seeking to limit prostitutes' interaction with young men and adolescents indicate their presence in this milieu.[2] Gymnasium and university students were rumored to be among the customers, although some sources claim that most students could not afford the price. Those who opposed brothels on morals grounds often described brothel patrons as dishonorable: paying for "pseudo-passion," while maintaining their reputations as the "cleanest, most moral," honorable citizens, officers, officials, and dignitaries.[3] As this book reveals, brothel patrons varied by age and background.

In this chapter, I analyze the background of tolerated prostitutes, how they entered the trade, and their movement into and out of brothels to argue that regulated prostitution was both contingent and permeable, demonstrating that brothel life could be a temporary or a long-term undertaking. The chapter shows that tolerated prostitution was a multi-confessional, multi-generational, multi-national, trans-Austrian enterprise. It was also international: during the course of their careers as prostitutes, many women moved throughout the Monarchy and beyond. Finally, I contradict the image of prostitutes in the popular imagination as "fallen," "dull-witted," "reckless," and "work-averse."[4]

WHO REGISTERED WITH THE POLICE?

Viennese experts Baumgarten, Finger, and Merta subscribed to the notion that most tolerated prostitutes had previously been part of the clandestine sex trade. Although the police registration records for prostitutes provide evidence for this claim, Josef Kyrle, Finger's doctoral student at Vienna's Universitätsklinik für Dermatologie und Syphilis, and later a well-known dermatologist in his own right, proposed another scenario at the Austrian Society for Combating Venereal Diseases (ÖGBG) meeting in March 1908. Kyrle rejected a number of popular notions, including that nothing a prostitute said could be believed, that any utterance had to be dismissed out of hand, as he cautiously analyzed these women's decisions to become prostitutes. In so doing, he was arguing for their individual agency. Kyrle claimed that only hospital physicians and police were in a position to do the kind of study he had undertaken: while prostitutes considered the police

[2] In his memoirs, *Erinnerungen an Czernowitz: Wo Menschen und Bücher Lebten* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2007), 127, Zvi Yavetz describes young men's still obligatory visits to the city's brothels during the interwar era. In his memory, this rite of passage occurred at age fourteen.

[3] J. Moudrá, "Otázka stejné morálky," *Ženský svět*, 20 May 1914, 13.

[4] See the reports of local and regional officials discussed in Chapter Two and the comments of Czernowitz vice police in Chapter Seven. Some descriptions of prostitutes remained consistent over time and in different locations; see Stefan Slater, "Prostitutes and Popular History: Notes on the 'Underworld', 1918–1939," *Crime, Histoire, & Sociétés/Crime, History & Societies* 13/1 (2009): 31, citing comments in Neville Rolfe's 1935 book "strong grounds for believing that mental weakness . . . plays an important part in predisposing a girl towards sexual-delinquency."

their enemy, they had reason to cooperate with the doctors, because they wanted to leave the hospital and return to work. Based on interviews with one hundred women—forty-five of whom came from the countryside and fifty-five from cities—at the Vienna clinic over a ten-month period, Kyrle speculated on their motives for turning to prostitution and contradicted the assertion that regulated prostitutes had necessarily first been clandestine prostitutes.

Just nineteen of the women Kyrle interviewed were born out of wedlock.[5] The women—most came from limited circumstances, although one-third had petit bourgeois backgrounds—had done well at school, which they left around the age of fourteen to work. Between the ages of fifteen and nineteen, they had their first sexual relationship. Long- or short-term, the man had ended the relationship. One quarter of the women had become pregnant as a consequence of that relationship, and given birth in a maternity hospital. (There is no mention of the children's fate.) Afterward, they claimed to have no longer been satisfied with their employment, and changed positions repeatedly. Some had gone to "ruin," and rapidly chose to register with the police, believing they could earn money and "lead a good life." According to Kyrle, these women considered prostitution a way to support themselves, similar to their previous positions. One of the interviewees explained that she came and left police regulation depending on her employment at a cardboard factory. When she had full-time work, she returned her health book. Finally, Kyrle also described three older prostitutes who, after "long registration," had married out of the trade: two wed coachmen, the third a tailor. The three returned to prostitution only to support their husbands, who had fallen ill and could no longer work.[6]

Occasional newspaper exposés detailed how a particular woman had become a prostitute, her economic status, and what she expected from the future. One young woman whose story appeared in the weekly *Illustrierte Oesterreichische Kriminal-Zeitung* in late August 1907 came from a petit bourgeois family. She had attended the conservatory, but learned, she said, "little of use." The woman met a lieutenant—the perfidious lieutenant also features in contemporary fictional accounts of "fallen women"[7]—who promised to marry her. In a narrative not unlike those of the women Kyrle described, she had become pregnant, the officer left her, and her parents disowned her. This woman went initially to Kieninger's Vienna brothel, which the journalist designated a "den of iniquity" like Riehl's. The exposé made the point that the vice police had not attempted to stop the woman from "burning all her [bourgeois] bridges" and registering as a prostitute, which she had been for three years. The woman, like many others in the trade, had been unable to save money. She worried about the day when she lost her looks and would have to work as a *Guldendame*, an independent prostitute, often at the end of her working life, who earned very little money.[8]

[5] Josef Kyrle, "Diskussion," in "Die Enquete der ÖGBG," 197–8.
[6] Kyrle, "Diskussion," 201.
[7] See for example Karl Franz Kocmata, *Anny Robert* (Vienna: Verlag der Wienergraphischen Werkstätte, 1920).
[8] *Illustrierte Oesterreichische Kriminal-Zeitung*, 26 August 1907, 4–5.

Women clearly entered the sex trade in numerous ways. As the Riehl trial showed, some young women were brought to brothels by family members or panderers. Others had taken a lover, and losing his protection, moved onto another man, and then another, or entered a brothel. Still other women had previously been clandestine prostitutes, turning to brothel prostitution as a "safer"—from police arrest—option. As a brothel prostitute aged and lost her looks, attracting ever fewer men, she might leave her brothel for a less-prestigious one or become an independent prostitute or a clandestine one.[9]

PORTRAIT OF A REGULATED PROSTITUTE

Records for brothel residents are incomplete. Meant for numerous purposes, they provide a broad range of information about the women who registered, including their birth date, criminal history, health, previous registration with the morals police, religion, and *Zuständigkeit*. Employing records—some fragmentary—from Vienna, Laibach, and three Bohemian municipalities, as well as material from Cracow and Trieste, it is possible to construct a partial portrait of the tolerated prostitute in Austria.

The Viennese vice police kept detailed records on age at registration, previous employment, and venereal disease rate of tolerated prostitutes, both brothel and independent. These women were not entirely representative of prostitutes elsewhere in the Monarchy, because a larger percentage of them were in their thirties and older, with comparatively fewer in their late teens than in the provinces. The city's brothels were filled with women from throughout the Monarchy, reflecting in-migration to the capital.[10]

Table 4.1 shows that close to 60 percent of the prostitutes who registered with Viennese police were between the ages of twenty-one and thirty years old in 1905 and 1906, as they had been since the turn of the century. This is the decade that chief police physician Merta termed "the age of regulated prostitution." Viennese police estimates of the length of "career" prostitutes' working lives varied wildly, from seven and ten years, to twenty to thirty years, to ages forty to forty-five, while Michał Baczkowski, in contrast, writes that the careers of prostitutes in Cracow, "a sub-regional centre of prostitution," were brief, lasting between a few months and three years.[11] Girls as young as sixteen and women as old as sixty-one registered as prostitutes in Vienna. Commenting on the latter, Merta remarked that:

[9] On the diversity of prostitutes and prostitution, see Paulo Guinote, "The Old Bohemian Lisbon (c. 1870–c.1920): Prostitutes, Criminals, and Bohemians," *Portuguese Studies* 18 (2002): 79–80.

[10] In "Prostytucja w Krakowie na przełomie XIX i XX w," 607, Baczkowski writes that most Cracow prostitutes came from Galicia, either from the city itself or smaller, neighboring villages and cities, reflecting regional in-migration.

[11] Michał Baczkowski, "Prostytucja w Krakowie na przełomie XIX i XX w," *Studia Historyczne* 43/4 (2000): 596 and 607.

Table 4.1. Prostitutes Newly Registered in Vienna by Half Decade

AGE	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906
15–20	289	255	203	190	170	113
21–25	573	538	546	494	430	339
26–30	418	461	421	428	436	467
31–35	239	255	235	260	237	240
36–40	115	108	120	118	131	137
41–45	60	63	50	63	48	38
46–50	16	17	15	15	19	18
51–55	7	9	10	9	5	9
56–62	4	3	1	2	2	2

Source: Anton Baumgarten, "Die Prostitution," in "Die Enquete der ÖGBG," *ZBG* 9 (1908): 171.

Table 4.2. Positions Providing Largest Number of Newly Registered Prostitutes in Vienna

	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907
Housemaids										
Number	156	161	197	186	179	124	110	94	65	31
Percent	54.9	60.9	59.8	57.6	55.6	56.9	58.9	48.6	44.5	37.9
Hand Workers										
Number	47	30	38	49	59	45	30	45	12	6
Percent	16.5	11.4	11.5	15.2	18.3	20.6	16.2	23.5	8.1	7.1
Salesgirls/Cashiers										
Number	37	26	46	46	39	24	14	12	12	8
Percent	13.0	9.8	13.9	14.2	12.2	11.0	7.5	6.2	8.9	9.6
Unemployed										
Number	29	29	21	24	24	14	17	22	27	14
Percent	10.0	11.0	6.3	7.2	7.7	6.42	9.08	11.4	18.5	16.7

Source: Anton Merta, "Diskussion," in "Die Enquete der ÖGBG," *ZBG* 9 (1908): 190.

> At least in this "love market" [Vienna], youth and beauty are not decisive, but other imponderables also play a role, as revealed by that fact that a prostitute more than sixty years old still supports herself.[12]

The information Vienna's tolerated prostitutes provided police when registering included their previous employment. In the previous decade of toleration, the largest percentage of women on average, 55.4 percent, had earlier been housemaids. The next largest cohort (15.3 percent) had been hand workers, while 11.6 percent had been salesgirls/cashiers, and 9.4 percent, unemployed. Those previously employed as unskilled laborers constituted just 4.9 percent, while a varied group of flower girls, language instructors, singers, travel companions, and waitresses made up the remainder (Table 4.2).

Detailed inspection records from the immediate wake of the Riehl trial indicate that the most common home jurisdictions for Vienna's brothel-based prostitutes

[12] Anton Merta, "Diskussion," "Die Enquete der ÖGBG," 187.

were the imperial capital itself and Lower Austria, or nearby provinces: Upper Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia. A few women had arrived in the imperial capital from Galicia or the Kingdom of Hungary. One came from England. While many were from large cities, others were from smaller rural communities near the imperial capital.

Erik Holmes Schneider employs 1900 census figures for Trieste that show age patterns similar to Vienna's. The largest number of prostitutes were between twenty and thirty years old; the majority, between twenty and twenty-five.[13] The 1910 census also reveals, as in Vienna, the varied geographic background and language use of the women living in the city's forty brothels. While most of Trieste's prostitutes came from the Littoral and nearby provinces—Dalmatia, Carniola, and Styria—others were from further afield in Austria-Hungary, as well as Italy, Germany, Romania, and even Russian Poland. The majority of those identified by language spoke German or Italian, followed by Croatian and Slovene.[14] The census included literacy, and, consistent with the general population, many of those listed as illiterate came from Croatia, Dalmatia, Istria, or the Littoral.

The health books issued between 1910 and 1918 to seventy-four women in Budweis, the largest city in southern Bohemia, tell a somewhat different story than the statistics from Vienna. They provide information on a group of provincial prostitutes in this mixed Czech- and German-speaking city of some 40,000: where they came from, their age at the time of registration, the Budweis brothel in which they resided, their venereal health history, and what they looked like, because the books all contained photographs. The women's movement into and out of the city's brothels is recorded in them. Although it seems unlikely these books represent all of those issued in the eight-year period, and one book may not have been issued in Budweis, we can draw some tentative conclusions.

More than two-thirds of these women had been born in Bohemia. The majority of others came from nearby Moravia, Lower Austria, and Upper Austria. Budweis lay on the railroad line between Prague and Vienna, which probably accounts for the number of women from Prague and Lower Austria registered there. Reflecting dislocation in the Habsburg East, two Galician women and one from Bukovina entered local brothels during the First World War. The prostitutes ranged in age from sixteen to thirty-seven years old—Budweis, in contrast to some other cities in Austria, had not followed Vienna's example and raised the age for issuing a health book to eighteen after the Riehl trial. Unlike Vienna, where the "age of regulation" was women in their twenties, in Budweis it was sixteen to twenty-five, with fifty-three of the women, or 72 percent, in that age group. Only four women were more than thirty, and three of these were in their early thirties.[15] Analyzing women in

[13] Erik Holmes Schneider, *Zois in Nighttown: Prostitution and Syphilis in the Trieste of James Joyce and Italo Svevo (1880–1920)* (Trieste: Comunicarte Edizioni, 2012), Appendix 4, 348.

[14] Schneider, *Zois in Nighttown*, Appendix 6, 350–7. In a singular case, one thirty-six-year-old German-speaking married prostitute was identified as being from Turkey.

[15] Státní okresní archiv České Budějovice (hereafter SOkAČB), Fond Policejní úřad České Budějovice, Spisy, Box 195, 1389 Zdravotní knížky prostitutek.

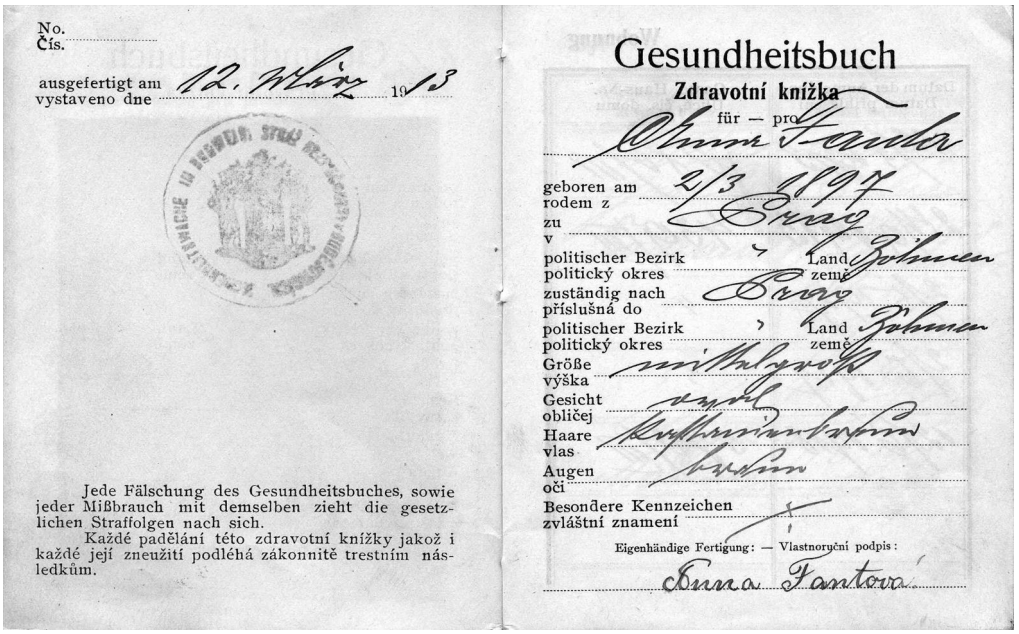
five-year categories demonstrates that the majority of registered prostitutes in the provinces were somewhat younger than those in Vienna.

There is no way to know if their photographs—primarily portraits, many showing women staring seriously at the camera, and a few full-length shots—were produced specifically for the health books.[16] Marie Šroubková's picture (Illustration 4.7) was taken at Prague's well-known Atelier Elite studio on Wenceslas Square, while others were made in Vienna. Many show women, like Antonie Reitknechtová and Marie Šíma, in what resembles contemporary bourgeois daytime wear (Illustration 4.5, Illustration 4.6). The photograph of Rosa Cimicky, who registered in January 1918, is one of two of women wearing dark outdoor clothing, including the smaller hat that was becoming popular even before the war, and holding a muff (Illustration 4.2). Many of the women are bareheaded, with their hair neatly pulled back in chignons. Those wearing hats include a few in the large, dark, heavily adorned picture hats associated with Austrian prostitutes of that period. Sixteen-year-old Anna Müller sports a white hat with a single long ostrich feather (Illustration 4.4). The sole prostitute from Bavaria was pictured wearing the *loden* hat with *Gamsbart* traditional to that German province. Most of the women were wearing clothing that would not draw attention on a provincial Austrian street. Indeed, these photographs appear to represent an attempt by working-class women to perform upward mobility.

How mobile were the women who registered with Budweis police? Their health books show them moving in and out of the city's three brothels, as well as in and out of town. While the majority stayed a few months or years, some women stayed just a few weeks, or even a few nights, before departing. Sometimes, they left but repeatedly returned. Prague-born Anna Fantová, who lived in all three Budweis brothels, first registered with police as a sixteen-year-old on 12 March 1913 (Illustration 4.1, Illustration 4.3). She decamped for Pilsen about ten days later, before returning on 24 September and remaining until 10 October 1913. Fantová then disappeared from the Budweis register for more than three years, before she again registered with police for three weeks in May 1917, and again for a week in early June. Fantová was last registered in Budweis for five nights later that month. Each time she unregistered, she claimed to be leaving for Prague, but we do not know where Fantová went when she left the "system." Fantová may have left because she had become infected with VD, entered a brothel elsewhere, or left the trade altogether. She was absent sufficiently long in some cases to have been pregnant and given birth. Fantová was twenty-one years old when she last unregistered with the Budweis police. There is no indication where she then went, nor what she did.

The final piece of information the Budweis health books provide concerns venereal disease. The records show only a few of these women were sent to the hospital for venereal disease. Their examinations may have been cursory, as

[16] I thank my colleague, Professor of Art History Rebecca Houze, who specializes in fin-de-siècle Austrian fashion, for her reading of these women's dress. Marjana Kovačič has included one prostitute's photograph, a full-length portrait, from a *Zabiležni vpisnik* (literally, disease register) issued between 1909 and 1911 in "Prostitucija v Ljubljani ob koncu prejšnjega stoletja," *Kronika* 35/3 (1987): 159.


No.
Čís.

ausgefertigt am 12. März 1913
vystaveno dne

Jede Fälschung des Gesundheitsbuches, sowie jeder Mißbrauch mit demselben zieht die gesetzlichen Straffolgen nach sich.
Každé padělání této zdravotní knížky jakož i každé její zneužití podléhá zákonnitě trestním následkům.

Gesundheitsbuch
Zdravotní knížka
für — pro Anna Fantova
geboren am 2/3 1897
rodem z
zu
v
politischer Bezirk Land Böhmen
politický okres země
zuständig nach Saaz
příslušná do
politischer Bezirk Land Böhmen
politický okres země
Größe mittelgroß
výška
Gesicht oval
obličej
Haare kastanienbraun
vlas
Augen braun
oči
Besondere Kennzeichen
zvláštní znamení
Eigenhändige Fertigung: — Vlastnoruční podpis:
Anna Fantova

Illustration 4.1. Budweis Health Book details for Anna Fantová (SOkAČB/České Budějovice).

abolitionists and others alleged; or the women, fearing they had VD, may have unregistered before they could be hospitalized.

As shown in Table 4.3, the ages of women who registered in Laibach in 1905 followed the Budweis pattern, while the women who registered later followed the Viennese pattern. In any case, the great majority of women registering in Laibach were between the ages of sixteen and thirty. Although they came from throughout the Monarchy, the majority of the women registering had been born in and/or had right of residency in Styria or Hungary.[17]

In the three years shown in Table 4.4, Laibach police registered 203 prostitutes. While almost half the women came from three nearby cities, two of them among the largest in the Monarchy, other women had previously been registered in another twenty-five cities in Austria-Hungary. The previous place of registration of the fourth largest number was "unknown," which points to the laxity of police registration. While the numbers of those registered dropped, it is not clear if they continued to do so or if the decline was consistent, because the records are incomplete. As in Budweis, the women were mobile; one woman stayed in Laibach for only five days.

[17] In "Prostitucija v Ljubljani ob koncu prejšnjega stoletja" *Kronika* 35/3 (1987): 156–7, Marjan Kovačič concludes that between 1900 and 1910, Laibach's registered prostitutes were mainly Croatians, Germans, Hungarians, or Slovenes.

Illustrations 4.2 to 4.7. Budweis Health Book Photographs for Rosa Cimicky, Anna Fantová, Anna Müller, Antonie Reitknechtová, Marie Šíma, and Marie Šroubková, SOkAČB/České Budějovice.

Table 4.3. Prostitutes Newly Registered in Laibach by Half Decade

Age	1905	1907	1910	
16–20	16	9	2	
21–25	27	30	14	
26–30	9	17	20	
31–35	5	3	9	
+36	4	2	1	
Unknown:	5	8	4	
Total:	66	69	50	185

Source: Bojan Cvelfar, "'Ko prostitutko jeden zapusti, gre že drugi moški skozi vežna vrata' ureditev prostitucije in življenje v javni hiši v Ljubljani na začetku 20. stoletja," *Kronika* 42/3 (1994): 27.

Table 4.4. Place of Previous Registration of Largest Number of Laibach Prostitutes

	1905	1907	1910	Total	Average
Trieste	30	11	5	46	22.66%
Graz	15	12	10	37	18.22%
Villach	1	12	7	20	9.85%
Unknown	8	7	4	19	9.35%
Klagenfurt	–	9	3	12	5.91%
Vienna	4	3	1	8	3.94%
Pola	–	4	3	7	3.44%
Marburg	1	52	3	6	2.95%
New to Trade	5	1	–	6	2.95%
TOTAL REGISTERED	77	76	50	203	

Source: Bojan Cvelfar, "'Ko prostitutko jeden zapusti, gre že drugi moški skozi vežna vrata' ureditev prostitucije in življenje v javni hiši v Ljubljani na začetku 20. stoletja," *Kronika* 42/3 (1994): 29.

Records for the large numbers of tolerated prostitutes in Theresienstadt reveal patterns similar to those in Budweis and Vienna (Table 4.5, Table 4.6). The number of prostitutes registering had dropped since 1902, when record-keeping began, from 177 to 63 in 1913, the last full year before the war's outbreak. As in Budweis, the largest number to register were between fifteen and twenty-five. The women were younger on average than in Vienna, although they included a few more than forty years old. Before 1914, some 90 percent of the sex workers in Theresienstadt's brothels came from Bohemia, a higher percentage than in Budweis. The next largest cohort was from Moravia, while the largest number of foreigners came from the nearby southern German states. According to the records, which listed their religion, virtually all of the women were Roman Catholic. The few Protestants came from Germany, and the sole Jew from Galicia. The women appear to have been even more mobile than those in Budweis and Laibach, some leaving the police records on the very day they registered, others remaining less than a week. Women who stayed longer often changed brothels or repeatedly left, sometimes because they had been hospitalized for unspecified reasons, and returned, even years later. One twenty-six-year-old from a working-class Prague

Table 4.5. Numbers of Prostitutes Registering in Theresienstadt, 1902–13

1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913
177	103	161	86	100	64	72	73	79	65	77	63

Source: Státní okresní archiv Litoměřice, Archiv města Terezín, Fond 65, Kniha prostitutka 1902–1923, Zápisník prostitutka, i.č. 99, Box 95.

Table 4.6. Prostitutes Newly Registered in Theresienstadt by Half Decade

Age	Year							
	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913
15–20	26	17	19	14	24	20	22	12
21–25	49	34	33	33	31	22	34	28
26–30	20	11	11	14	18	15	16	16
31–35	4	1	7	6	3	1	2	6
36–40	–	1	1	2	2	4	2	–
41–45	1	–	–	1	–	1	–	–
Unknown	–	–	1	3	1	2	1	1
TOTAL	100	64	72	73	79	65	77	63

Source: Státní okresní archiv Litoměřice, Archiv města Terezín, Fond 65, Kniha prostitutka 1902–1923, Zápisník prostitutka, i.č. 99, Box 95.

suburb registered for eleven days in August 1910, before leaving, then returning more than seven years later, in October 1917. As in Budweis, prostitutes in their early twenties predominated, with women under twenty next.

One anomaly in the Theresienstadt records is the arrival on 18 October 1910 of two women, Maria and Božena Tyl, aged 36 and 19, from a small town in central Bohemia. Their registration was completed on the same day, and they stayed in the same brothel for almost a month until the older Tyl left. When she returned about a year later, the two moved to another local brothel. The Tyls seem to have been related, perhaps even mother and daughter, but it is unclear how.

Karlsbad police records for thirty-five women who registered between January and July 1914, primarily during the spa season, show that the majority were between the ages of twenty-one and thirty, as in Vienna. Many came from neighboring Germany.

These limited records contradict assertions about prostitute criminality. Insofar as Karlsbad police correspondence with police elsewhere showed that any of the women had previous records—the majority did not—the infractions were connected with the sex trade. They had been arrested for clandestine prostitution, streetwalking, sometimes more than once; and one had come to police attention for registering under an assumed name. The exception was a woman whose previous employer had accused her of theft, a crime associated with being poor and desperate.[18]

[18] Státní okresní archiv Karlovy Vary (hereafter SOkAKV), Archiv města Karlovy Vary (hereafter AMKV), Spisy 1915, Polizeiamt Leipzig, 19 May 1914.

Police records show confessional, ethnic, generational, and regional mixing in the Monarchy's brothels. There is other archival documentation of this mixing, like the Dalmatian governor's 1907 report that the brothels in the capital, Zara—and elsewhere in Dalmatia—were branches of larger brothels on the Habsburg Adriatic in Fiume (Hungary's port city), Pola, and Trieste, and the prostitutes servicing them hailed from Croatia, Hungary, and elsewhere, rather than from Dalmatia itself. In addition to information on the diseases from which prostitutes—and other female patients—suffered and the length of their hospitalization, records from 1908 to 1914 for the women's urology-dermatology section of Trieste's *Ospedale maggiore* provided information on their age, their varied places of origin, and their movement among brothels in the city.[19]

Prostitute registration information reveals unexplained gaps in some women's records. In Budweis and Theresienstadt names appear and disappear, only to reappear several years later. One Viennese prostitute left during the night, apparently with a client, and her whereabouts remained unknown when police subsequently inspected the premises.

In addition to sloppy record-keeping—occasionally prostitutes were briefly registered in Theresienstadt brothels without their information being completed—other possibilities arise: women temporarily left the system because they found "solid" positions elsewhere, they had been found to have venereal disease, and were hospitalized; they had become pregnant and had an abortion at the hands of a local midwife, or had become pregnant and carried a child to term. What happened to these children? Some lived with family members, while others might be placed in foundling homes.[20] Women also left police regulation because they had a venereal disease and feared, with justification, forced hospitalization and the subsequent loss of their already limited income. Others became the lovers of men, sometimes serially, who had sufficient wealth to support them, and only if or when their economic situation deteriorated did the women again register with the vice police or practice clandestine prostitution.[21] Still others married and left the trade altogether, as Kyrle pointed out. There are only fragmentary records for venereal disease, fewer still for pregnancy, and virtually none at all for abortion.[22]

[19] For records, which provided the name, address, date of birth, place of orgin, disease, length of stay in that division, and sometimes religion (most often for Jews), see AST, O.O.R.R., Trieste Urol.-Dermo Donne.

[20] See for example SOkAČB, PÚ, České Budějovice, Spisy, Box 195, 1389 Zdravotní knížky prostitutek. As described in Chapter One, a young woman formerly employed at Riehl's realized she was pregnant soon after leaving the brothel, had her baby, and returned to her mother's tiny flat with her baby son, whom she supported by working as a seamstress. Schneider mentions the two children of murdered Triestine prostitute Luigia Alfonsi, who were living in Padua, in *Zois in Nighttown*, 127, fn. 45.

[21] One woman who married out of the trade—to a former artilleryman—after twelve years, she claimed, of happy marriage, sought to have her name removed from the prostitution registration records altogether: ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2122, Staindl, Maria, Wien, unbezeichnetes Majestätsgesuch, Rehabilitierung, Wird der k.k. Statthalterei in Wien zur Amtshandlung Uebermittel, Wien am . . . 1917, 6 September and 5 October 1917. On a woman being kept serially by wealthy lovers before becoming a prostitute, see discussion of Marie Schmidt in Chapter Five.

[22] Information on abortion is notoriously difficult to come by because it was illegal in the Monarchy.

As Kyrle's comments show, some women aspired to become brothel madams, a position they considered to be economically secure. Indeed, the female-dominated brothel economy provided a living for numerous women, including prostitutes, former prostitutes, and those who had never been registered. In addition to the often-female brothel keepers there were the predominantly female staff. Former prostitutes might remain part of the greater sex trade. They helped panderers, even becoming panderers, who kept brothels filled with new "wares" including, allegedly, their own daughters. Others let accommodation to clandestine and independent prostitutes.[23] Economically successful women might take a position not directly related to the trade. In his novella, *Das Trauerhaus: Erzählung*, set in a Prague brothel based on Goldschmied's during the First World War, Franz Werfel describes the mythical "Jewish Jenny," a predecessor to the women in the brothel, "who now lives in Vienna where she is the owner of a large coffeehouse on the Franz-Josefs-Quai."[24]

PROSTITUTES ON THE MOVE

While some prostitutes from larger urban areas remained in their native cities, where they were able to maintain a measure of anonymity, women from smaller municipalities often worked outside their home districts, and those from the countryside moved to more populous areas. They were part of the internal migration in search of employment that characterized urbanizing Austria around the turn of the century.[25] Improved transportation, especially the Monarchy's unified and increasingly dense railway network, expanded women's choice of workplace. The proximity of their homes to train lines to Cracow, for example, played a role in Galician women entering that city's brothels.[26] The locating of brothels close to railroad stations reflects the importance of transportation to the trade. Prostitutes appear to have traveled east and west across the Monarchy for employment; fewer moved north or south, and many women from southern and southeastern Austria remained south of the Alps.

Two prostitution narratives demonstrate the contingent, permeable, and temporal nature of late Habsburg brothel culture. These two young women, Marie Oppelt from Bohemia and Maria Kotar from the Austrian Littoral, moved in and out of brothels and traveled internationally for employment.

The experience of eighteen-year-old Oppelt, from a small town near Reichenberg, shows how a woman might enter one brothel of her own volition, while her stay at another might be arranged by a brothel keeper or a broker. Oppelt was factory

[23] See for example Kyrle, "Diskussion," 200, on young women raised in "immoral" atmospheres becoming prostitutes.

[24] Franz Werfel, *Das Trauerhaus; Erzählung* (Munich: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1957), 9.

[25] Baczkowski provides the ages and origins of the Galician prostitutes in Cracow's brothels between 1894 and 1918 in "Prostytucja w Krakowie," 597–9.

[26] Baczkowski, "Prostytucja w Krakowie," 597; on the railway network more generally see Ivan Berend, *An Economic History of Nineteenth-Century Europe: Diversity and Industrialization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 141.

worker, maid, and waitress turned sometime tolerated prostitute, but did not admit to having been a clandestine prostitute. In February 1906, she came to the attention of Dresden vice police, who wanted to know how she had arrived at the local brothel run by a former northern Bohemian career prostitute, Wilhelmine Friedericke Mankowsky. A member of Dresden's Magdalena aid organization claimed that Oppelt had been an "innocent" girl at Christmas 1904 before she was forced into to a Reichenberg brothel, and subsequently sent from there to another brothel. Oppelt described a different situation to local police, asserting that she had told the story of being forced into prostitution to escape the organization "helping" her. She chronicled a journey through small- and mid-sized municipalities in northern Bohemia and then to Dresden. Oppelt's account includes badly paid labor; agents who helped her obtain work; taverns, whose female employees were registered as prostitutes; hospital and brothel stays; but no forced commercial sex. She describes what she did, but there is no explanation for her choices, because that is not what interested the police.

Oppelt explained that for some eighteen months after her confirmation, at about age fourteen or fifteen, she had worked in a factory. She left to become a maid for a Gablonz cement dealer, where she remained for six months. Oppelt then worked as a maid for a teacher in Reichenberg, but quickly lost that position because she had attended a church festival nearby without permission.

It was then that Oppelt started on the path toward registration. "Left on the street without work," Oppelt apparently did not contact her family, but rather one Johanna Schatten, an employment agent who helped both "upstanding" women and those going to brothels find work. According to Oppelt, Schatten had originally wanted to place her in a brothel, but she did not "trust" Oppelt, who had "never been in such an establishment." Schatten instead found her a job at what Oppelt described as a "solid" inn, where she did not engage in commercial sex. When Oppelt left the inn, she went to a second woman, who attempted to "trick" her into going to a brothel near Friedland on the Bohemian-Saxon border. Oppelt ended up briefly working at two inns where all of the waitresses were registered with the vice police. Oppelt had been at the second inn only one week when the owner arranged for her to go to a local brothel. She subsequently worked at three more northern Bohemian brothels, interrupted by a stint in hospital for treatment of venereal disease. When yet another woman, the wife of one of her former brothel keepers, encouraged her to go to yet another northern Bohemian brothel, Oppelt remarked that she would rather go to Dresden, where salaries were higher. Soon afterward, accompanied by a former prostitute, now a brothel housekeeper, Oppelt took the train to Dresden. She immediately registered with the vice police and entered Mankowsky's establishment, where she remained until 2 February 1906, when she was again hospitalized for VD. Although Habsburg police now wanted to question employment agent Schatten for "trafficking," Dresden vice police were interested in Oppelt's experience in Bohemia only insofar as it helped explain whether Mankowsky was responsible for having Oppelt pandered. Vice police were unable to confirm their suspicions that Mankowsky was a panderer, because the

prostitutes in her employ, or formerly in her employ, all claimed to have arrived at her brothel on their own.[27]

Like many of the prostitutes in the Viennese hospital whom Kyrle described, Oppelt left school young and went to work in a factory. In contrast to them, she did not mention a failed relationship or a pregnancy and a sudden decision to register with police. Rather, her behavior reveals a progression toward paid sex. She initially worked as a maid before moving to an inn where customers purchased sex. After registering as a prostitute, she moved to several brothels in different cities. Finally, like so many other economic migrants from northern Bohemia, she moved to Saxony in search of higher wages.

A second example of the contingency of regulated prostitution is the experience of the twenty-three-year-old Maria Kotar, who comes to our attention because Triestine police arrested her long-time lover, twenty-seven-year-old Ulrich Wilmann, for theft in mid-July 1913. Described in police documents as a poor "agent, smith, and translator" (he claimed to speak Arabic, French, German, Italian, and Slovenian), Wilmann, then living in Graz's Hotel Vienna, was accused of selling a stolen gold handbag and diamond ring. Wilmann claimed that these items belonged to Kotar, whom he had met four and a half years earlier in Innsbruck, where she was a clandestine prostitute. The pair subsequently lived in Vienna, where Kotar again took up prostitution, and Alexandria, Egypt, where she worked as an *Animiermädchen* (a bar hostess meant to encourage male patrons to drink, who sometimes also worked as a prostitute). On their return from Egypt in 1911, Kotar worked briefly in a Trieste brothel on Via Capitelli before being hospitalized. She later went to Prague, where she purchased the gold bag in question from a local brothel keeper, who confirmed her assertion. When Kotar returned to Trieste, she worked for three months in what was then the city's most exclusive brothel, at Via del Sale, 8. Kotar and Wilmann met up again in Trieste, and later left together for Graz. Kotar told police who interrogated her in a Graz hospital that she had given Wilmann the items in question to sell because, having been again hospitalized since the previous April, she needed money. Kotar confirmed his story, but Wilmann, a petty criminal, had in the meantime been held on charges of swindling. He was later released in what police said was a case of mistaken identity.[28]

Although Wilmann was the police focus, the narrative also offers a useful window through which to view prostitution in late imperial Austria. It demonstrates the fluidity between clandestine and regulated prostitution; the mobility of some prostitutes, both within and outside of brothels, as well as across provincial and imperial borders; and the financial acumen of some prostitutes—after all, Kotar had been able to buy the gold bag. The case also reveals the fragility of their livelihood. Like others who lived on the margins of society, illness could put prostitutes out of work, deplete their savings, and impoverish them. Nowhere does the record indicate that Kotar suffered from venereal disease, but VD sometimes resulted in lengthy

[27] LPDW, PM, 1906/2, Report of Max Hiltscher, Gendarme der Sittenabteilung, 10 February 1906.
[28] AST, Tribunale Provinciale (1850–1923), Atti penali, File 4598.

hospital stays. Wilmann provides an example of the social and possible criminal background of the male company that some prostitutes kept.

One element of prostitution that contemporary specialists and others who studied it observed was the brothels' need for "new" products, that is, different women, preferably young and attractive, for their clientele. Austrian vice police records from the fin de siècle show brothel keepers frequently changing the prostitutes in their employ. Owing to the extralegal status of regulated, "tolerated" prostitution and its connection in the public imagination with other illegal activities, pimping, procuring, and above all, trafficking in women, how did brothel keepers bring new women into their employ?

Prostitutes seeking new employment might contact brothel keepers. Some brothel keepers or their agents traveled in search of new girls for their establishments, while others took on—or rejected—women offered to them by panderers. Such behavior might bring them unwelcome attention from the vice police, because while brothels and prostitutes might be tolerated, procuring was not. It is unclear how widespread domestic trafficking or procuring was, because vice police had no consistent way to uncover and prosecute such activities. Prostitutes also moved of their own accord, for reasons that are not part of the historic record. The movement of prostitutes—by themselves or by others—for purposes of commercial sex was an integral part of the regulated-brothel economy. Prostitution was an international undertaking, and some women had international careers. There was cross-border movement between Bohemia and the states of southern Germany, while Italians worked in the Littoral.

BROTHEL WARS

The relationship between the brothel economy and the local residents was not always smooth. Some tension, as Merta had pointed out in his discussion of the regulation of prostitution in Vienna, owed to the very existence of brothels. Local abolitionists and other anti-prostitution activists seized any excuse to prevent a brothel's opening, or to close down an existing one. The police shuttered some brothels because the keepers broke laws. There do not appear to have been any brothels closed because of the keeper's alleged maltreatment of prostitutes after the Riehl trial.

Who owned brothels? In Vienna and Trieste, running brothels was limited to women, but this was not the case in much of the rest of Cisleithanian Austria. Moreover, brothel ownership was so associated with Jews that already in November 1892, Galician Jewish deputy Josef S. Bloch had reminded anti-Semites in the Reichsrat that Aryans owned such establishments in every large municipality in Upper Austria, Styria, and the Bohemian Lands.[29] For a variety of reasons, applications to open tolerated brothels were not accepted, or their tolerance was withdrawn.

[29] Bloch's speech was reported in the 26 November issues of *Mährisches Tagblatt*, 3; *Pester Lloyd*, 3; *PT*, 4; and *Deutsches Volksblatt*, 4. The last named changed his comments to read "all brothels in Austrian cities are in Aryan hands."

Opponents of brothels—not only their neighbors, who simply wanted the women out of the neighborhood, but also other interests—employed numerous pretexts to call for their closure. In addition to protesting the existing brothels' locations and seeking to prevent any increase in their number across Austria, there were attempts to close brothels for a variety of moral and societal reasons. Some attempts to close them were unsuccessful, often despite widespread local objections, because the brothels had not broken any local regulations. Pitting residents against the police, with the municipal authorities on one side or another, battles over the continuing existence of a particular regulated brothel might go on for years, with appeals eventually reaching the Ministry of Interior.[30] The Ministry, for example, rejected the demand of the Reichsverein für Kinderschutz (Imperial Association for Protection of Children) to shutter a brothel in the small northeastern Moravian town of Mährisch Schönberg, where a schoolgirl had been kidnapped, commenting that there was no connection between the brothel and the kidnapping.[31] Brothels might be closed because their location had become "inappropriate." These establishments had been opened in formerly ill-lit, seldom visited outskirts of town, which had become better-lit, less marginal, more densely populated areas, sometimes near newly built schools and other public facilities, as municipalities in urbanizing Austria continued to expand around the turn of the century. They now allegedly posed a threat to local residents, especially children, whose morals might be compromised by a glimpse of a brothel or its inhabitants. Tensions connected with brothels' opening and continued functioning were not always easily resolved.

In January 1908, Leopold Kubalek, who held the lease for Hotel Olmütz in the Moravian city by the same name, complained to the city council that tolerated prostitutes temporarily in that city were permitted to stay in the accommodations of one H.E. Haas before they were "sent" to brothels abroad. The situation was "well known," and Haas had become wealthy as a result. While the police tolerated prostitutes renting rooms for sexual commerce in Hotel Brünn, which was owned by the local savings bank, as well as in several others, they did not permit the same in Hotel Olmütz. Kubalek sought to change the situation. His arguments, like those of others who advocated one or another element of regulation, demonstrated some knowledge of Austrian criminal law and local police regulations. A prostitute practicing her trade in a hotel room did not offend morality or modesty, he wrote, nor could she cause public offense. He, Kubalek, had no opposition to prostitution in his hotel and had never forbidden prostitutes to rent rooms from him. Pre-empting possible moral objections, Kubalek explained that neither he nor his wife had children, nor were children permitted to stay in Hotel Brünn. Should the city council not change its attitude, he would take the matter to the provincial governor, he threatened.

While there is no record of the outcome of Kubalek's complaint, his correspondence indicates an interest in prostitution based primarily on economics. His

[30] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2122, 42884/14.
[31] NÖLA, NÖ Statthalterei, Reg. Z., XIV, 204a, 1913.

casual remark about prostitutes being "sent" abroad shows that the pandering of these women was generally known.

Applications to open brothels were rejected for many reasons. Rosa Beran, a long-time innkeeper in Mährisch Ostrau, sought to open a brothel in July 1914. She considered her secluded property on Schlachthausgasse well suited for such an establishment. There were no houses on its left, and Beran was shortly going to take possession of the neighboring house on the right. Directly across the street were train tracks. The location, she claimed, was easy for the police to monitor. Beran asserted that her proposed brothel was necessary because of the great influx of residents, especially working men from nearby Prussia. She argued that the best proof of the need for brothels was that several had been opened in the city in the past few years. Police rejected her request on the same grounds—economic and moral—as they had a request the previous month. Authorities noted that there was simply insufficient local demand for prostitutes. They observed that the location Beran proposed was near a busy train crossing—the tracks Beran mentioned—so the brothel would offend numerous pedestrians.[32]

A July 1908 police report on Mährisch Ostrau's taverns that described "drunkenness and fornication," as well as female employees who were also clandestine prostitutes, mentioned a Rosa Beran. It is not clear if this was the same woman. If it were, their previous experience with her may have discouraged the police from permitting Beran to open a brothel.

Görz, the second largest city on the Austrian Littoral, had a population of 31,000 with a garrison of some 2,600 men. Ten months' correspondence from 1907 about the opening of a tolerated brothel on the edge of the city, which was located some 44 kilometers north of Trieste, explicitly articulates both governmental attitudes regarding the utility of brothels, and the many popular objections to them. Members of the Roman Catholic Church hierarchy, factory owners, and city, provincial, and Ministry of Interior authorities participated in the debate.

Maria Federici had long owned two brothels in Görz. The first was at Piazza del Cristo, 6, and the second, which she purchased in 1905, at Via Cappella, 4. According to numerous reports, the prostitutes in both were "well treated" and their quarters were "spacious, light, and airy."[33] When an Italian-language kindergarten and elementary school had opened in the vicinity of the Via Cappella brothel after the turn of the century, complaints from local residents soon followed. Although the district prefecture ordered the brothel on Via Cappella closed in the interest of public order in January 1907, authorities failed to act with any speed. Moreover, Federici, believing she had met vice police requirements in raising the wall in front of the brothel, long fought attempts to close it. Defending her business, Federici argued that a city the size of Görz needed two brothels, one for a "better class" of customer, as it had on Piazza del

[32] AMO, Rosa Beran to the Stadtvorstand, 19 June 1914; Stadtpolizei Amt to the Stadtvorstand, 27 June 1914; and AMO, Okresní úřad MO, Sig. Ga 40, Box 16, inv. č. 143, ZL: 18008/08, 31 July 1908.

[33] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, Podestà to I.R. Luogotenenza in Trieste, 11 January 1907.

Cristo, and the other for the "common people." Federici finally shuttered the Via Cappella establishment only in February 1912, because she expected to be forced to close it. She moved its assets to the brothel on Via di Trieste that she had had purpose-built to police specifications, in contrast to the Via Cappella brothel, which had been constructed "ad hoc" in 1891.

The Via di Trieste brothel, located on the edge of Görz, was in a neighborhood with a few modest houses, but was otherwise surrounded by buildings that were part of the local garrison. Local police at the railway station could easily monitor it. The new brothel soon met with popular protests and opposition from secular and religious leaders. The regional Roman Catholic Archbishop pointed out in discussions with high governmental authorities that in addition to his ecclesiastical opposition, in a display of transnational solidarity, both the city's national groups, the Italians and Slovenes, opposed the brothel. Managers at the Solo Zündwaren- und Wichse-Fabriken, who also opposed the new brothel, pointed out in a letter to the school board the alleged moral hazard the brothel, which was to be located opposite their factory, posed to its young female employees, as well to the students who had to pass by it. (Such allegations were not limited to Görz; the same reasoning would be unsuccessfully employed in opposition to the opening of a brothel in Teschen, Silesia during wartime.[34]) Thus, they invited school board members to join them in opposing the brothel, which they did. The provincial government responded that that there was no moral hazard for those few children who were compelled to pass by the proposed brothel on the way to school, because according to the local brothel regulations, prostitutes were not permitted to look out any windows, including those on alleys. The legal battle continued for years, with a brothel eventually opening across from the garrison.

A similar protracted battle took place in Bielitz, Silesia beginning in 1913. Samuel Bornstein opened three brothels in Linz, Upper Austria between 1911 and 1913, which he then sold or had others operate. None of them had been particularly lucrative. Bornstein then purchased a fourth brothel in Troppau, selling it in 1913. With the profits, he bought still another brothel in nearby Bielitz. When officials of the *Staatsgewerbeschule* (provincial trade school) sought to have his Bielitz brothel closed, claiming it had a pernicious effect on the school's students, children playing on the nearby playground, and people visiting the cemetery, the local police permitted it to remain open. Despite the fact that Bornstein "did not have a good reputation," neither Bielitz's mayor nor the provincial governor could find grounds to close the establishment. Indeed, Bornstein had served fifteen months for a fraud conviction dating from 1907. More recently, in February 1913, Bornstein and a former employee had been arrested for embezzlement, fraud, and procuring. Brought before the provincial court, the employee had been found guilty and Bornstein set free. The issue of the brothel had not been resolved by August 1914, and when Bornstein was mobilized during the war, his wife ran it. Appeals first went to the Ministry of Interior, which found no reason to

[34] *Deutsche Volkswehr*, 11 December 1915, 4.

act, and subsequently to the Ministries of Religion and Education, and Public Works. In January 1917, the provincial government elected to delay resolution of the issue until after the war's end because most of the trade school's older students were serving in the military.[35]

Karlsbad hosted some 70,000 spa guests annually, among them artists, composers, European politicians, and heads of state. It presents a special case in the study of prostitution in the Monarchy. Historical figures including composers Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Ludwig van Beethoven, as well as authors Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Leo Tolstoy, not to mention Habsburg Emperors and Russian Tsars back to Peter the Great, had frequented Karlsbad, whose waters had long been known for their curative powers. In this overwhelmingly German-speaking city of some 20,000 people, which catered to the well-known and well-to-do, there were no tolerated brothels, although female employees in a single local tavern moonlighted as prostitutes. At the turn of the twentieth century, these women numbered five or six during the season, fewer during the winter. They were under police supervision and subjected to twice-weekly examinations. Moreover, a detailed set of rules concerning the obligations of spa employees sought to prohibit "inappropriate" contacts between female employees and spa guests. Since they had first been tolerated in the 1880s, brothels in Drahowitz, the villa suburb to its northeast, had serviced Karlsbad residents and visitors.

As in Görz, there were attempts to close the brothels in Drahowitz as the population expanded. Drahowitz's three brothel keepers clearly considered their establishments, which were housed close to one another, discreetly in attractive buildings, on spacious grounds, important economic investments. By the last decade of the Monarchy, following a series of municipal improvements, including new sidewalks, better lighting, and the like, some residents repeatedly sought to have the three brothels closed, arguing that their very presence, even on the community's outskirts, on the formerly little-traveled but now busy Friedhofstraße, leading to the local cemetery, kept away members of the "better public." The presence of the brothels, they asserted, posed a threat not only to Drahowitz's economic future but also to its morals. Indeed, if a "decent" man took his family on an afternoon or evening walk by these houses, these women, who were "uninhibited in their dress," might speak to him, paying no attention to his wife or children accompanying him.[36]

Their opponents thought they had achieved their goal of closing Drahowitz's three brothels in spring 1911, when the municipal council unanimously voted to withdraw toleration of them. The brothel owners indignantly asserted that their establishments, located as they were on large properties, and thus not visible to the street, posed no threat to public morals. Indeed, Ernestine Wenzel's brothel had a large, decorative wooden fence atop a stone wall around it, one that might call attention to the property, but shielded it from the eyes of passersby. The three

[35] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, Correspondence from 1914 through 1917 in File 49683/1916.

[36] SOkAKV, AMKV Spisy, Löblicher Stadtrat! Signed by neighbors, 15 May 1911.

owners employed the standard arguments made by proponents of regulation about public health against local officials as they vigorously sought to defend their investments. After enumerating the improvements she had made to her recently purchased property, Anna Heissler argued against its closure on grounds of public health and, raising the specter of clandestine prostitution, claimed that the "need for prostitutes in Karlsbad was large and the number of available brothels was insufficient, so that annually several hundred prostitutes walked the streets of Karlsbad." Precisely these women posed a danger to the health of the public, she asserted, something the district physician could confirm. In her appeal, Wenzel similarly argued that "brothels are considered necessary on health-police grounds in all large cities in all civilized countries." Wenzel reminded officials that she paid high taxes. As it turned out, the Bohemian governor's office agreed with Wenzel's health argument, commenting that the best form of regulation was the tolerated brothel, because it was the easiest to regulate. The alternative to brothels in Drahowitz was more streetwalkers in Karlsbad. Wenzel's brothel was thus permitted to remain open.[37]

Klemens Trinks, the third Drahowitz brothel keeper, and Heissler continued operations while their appeals to keep their brothels open slowly wended their way through the Habsburg bureaucracy. As Heissler noted in one appeal, "if one of the brothels was causing a public nuisance, they all were, since they were located so closely together." Pointing out that his property, "Schloss Schönbrunn," had been a brothel when he purchased it, thus his plan to keep the establishment open must have come as no surprise, Trinks waged a long struggle, well into the Great War, against its closing. Indeed, as a reservist during the war, who, as he said, "followed the call of the fatherland," he used arguments about loyalty and patriotism in connection with continued toleration of his brothel. Trinks asserted that a time when each man was "volunteering his assets and blood for his fatherland, was not the time to single out one individual for unequal treatment" (the closure of his and Heissler's, but not Wenzel's, brothels). Using language akin to that of medical, military, and police officials, he argued "in a time of rising levels of venereal disease [during the war], tolerated prostitutes constituted the only possible defense for soldiers and civilians alike against future danger."[38]

When their attempts to satisfy their customers came into conflict with local law, Drahowitz brothel keepers challenged city officials. Wenzel actively defended herself against the various accusations she faced for violations in the operation of her property. Her legal infractions included serving liquor after hours, failure to register prostitutes in timely fashion, pandering, and the unauthorized and uncompensated operation of the jukebox in the house's large salon. Wenzel appealed the last charge, which dated from early 1914, and the two other Drahowitz brothel operators told police that after paying taxes on their jukebox, they, too, sometimes permitted their jukeboxes to be played free of charge. Heissler concluded that hers

[37] For relevant correspondence, SOkAKV, Okresní úřad KV (hereafter OÚKV), Box 135.
[38] SOkAKV, OÚKV, Box 135, see exchange of letters beginning 19 March 1910.

had been broken for the last few months, so it was seldom played in any case.[39] Wenzel contested the 200-crown fine she was assessed. Karlsbad officials were unsympathetic to her call to lower the fine. One commented she made good money at her large brothel, since both the prostitutes and the guests had to pay high prices. Indeed, he noted, "for their shameful behavior and the destruction of their bodies, they [the prostitutes] have gained nothing but debt."[40]

Shortly after Trinks purchased Schloss Schönbrunn, Elisabeth Micheli, a resident of his brothel, was ordered expelled from Drahowitz for violating prostitution regulations. Micheli appealed the town council's decision in early 1910 employing in her own defense the rules that governed prostitution, which included police control over the bodies of women who engaged in sexual commerce.[41] Micheli noted that she had lived in Drahowitz six years. During that time, she had not received even the slightest reprimand nor any kind of penalty. She explained that following numerous complaints, the brothel where she lived on Friedhofsstraße had been closed in August 1909, but Trinks had purchased it soon afterward. Micheli claimed the charges against her, filed some seven months after the brothel changed hands, owed to numerous complaints about the former brothel keeper's mismanagement of the property. There could, however, be no complaints about Trinks, who ran Schloss Schönbrunn with proper decorum. She, Micheli, was registered there, and had the "protection" of all relevant government officials, as evidenced by the prostitutes' regular medical examinations. (Trinks' attorney may have been responsible for writing Micheli's complaint, which was sent to the authorities about the time that Trinks' brothel was ordered closed.)[42]

Micheli asserted that properly run brothels such as the one where she worked played a preventative role in society. With this assertion, she was either manipulating—or actually buying into—professional discourses, the notion that prostitution was necessary because men's sexual urges were invincible and their physiological satisfaction necessary for their health.[43] By "sacrificing" themselves, prostitutes permitted "all upright women, as mothers, honorable wives, as well-raised daughters, to live a life that was not endangered by men."[44] Reiterating the fact that the brothel was located on a large plot of land in a remote corner of Drahowitz, she explained that nobody went there for any reason other than to engage in commercial sex. In addition, neither neighbors nor passersby could hear noise coming from the building. The exterior of "Schloss Schönbrunn," she

[39] SOkAKV, OÚKV, Box 164, File 8/32.

[40] SOkAKV, OÚKV, Box 164, File 8/32.

[41] See Julia Roos, *Weimar through the Lens of Gender: Prostitution Reform, Woman's Emancipation, and Germany Democracy, 1919–33* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 87–9, for a discussion of Weimar German prostitutes seeking the continuation of toleration employing regulationist arguments.

[42] SOkAKV, Appeal to the Gemeindeamt Drahowitz, 6 March 1910.

[43] For example, ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 8008/07, Bürgermeister of Brünn to k.k. mähr. Statthalterei Präsidium, 1 January 1907. See Scott Spector, "The Wrath of 'Countess Merviola': Tabloid Exposé and the Emergence of Homosexual Subjects in Vienna in 1907," in *Sexuality in Austria*, Gunter Bischof, Anton Pelinka, and Dagmar Herzog, eds., *Contemporary Austrian Studies* (2006): 32–3, on the relationship between professional discourse and subjects' self-understandings.

[44] SOkAKV, k.k. Bezirkshauptmanschaft Karlsbad, 9 March 1910.

claimed, looked like nearby houses. Thus, prudish eyes could not see any "taboo faces." Finally, arguing equal rights for all, she noted that she behaved no differently than the tolerated prostitutes in the neighboring brothel, Wenzel's "Prater," whose existence, she claimed, had not been challenged. The "Prater" was, in any case, more easily seen from the street than "Schloss Schönbrunn," and the building was more striking. (I found no record concerning the resolution of her appeal.)

Cases pitting brothel owners—and prospective owners—against the neighbors, local authorities, or other interested parties were fought on several grounds. Litigation might take years, and the decision to close a brothel was in no way a foregone conclusion.

THE BROTHEL AS A CRIMINAL SPACE

Even the best brothels remained sites of irregular, even dangerous behavior by clients, which greater policing of the brothels could not prevent. Police were present in brothels for reasons other than those foreseen in the regulation documents. Brothel crime was part of the broader world of working-class violence that regularly appeared in the center pages of Austrian newspapers. Although late nineteenth-century criminologists theorized about female criminal types that included prostitutes, many tolerated prostitutes had no criminal convictions, or records connected only with selling illicit commercial sex. Other tolerated prostitutes did have records—some extensive—for petty theft and even more serious infractions, but a criminal background did not necessarily prevent a woman from being registered as a prostitute and issued a health book. The brothel was a liminal place, one that attracted male criminals and other social misfits. Prostitutes appear to have been as likely to be the victims of crimes—some of "passion," the result of unhappy love affairs, often violent—at the hands of their clients as the reverse. Brothel clients' occasional complaints of theft reveal they, too, could be victims of crime.

The police commissioner in Aussig, northern Bohemia, wrote in late April 1908 that "Experience teaches us that thieves and embezzlers like to visit brothels and 'waste some of their loot there' after committing crimes." The police commissioner was complaining about local brothel keepers and prostitutes who let their clients spend "too much money," despite having been told repeatedly to contact authorities if guests, especially younger ones, spent a great deal of money. His particular concern was two postal officials who had lavished post office funds on Aussig's prostitutes, something police tracking the missing money had discovered only months later.[45]

Police records and other reports reveal the less-than-strict adherence to rules under which brothel prostitutes operated in Trieste. Court proceedings in that city illuminate both crimes against tolerated prostitutes and the crimes they committed against others.

[45] LPDW, PM, 1907/2, Polizeiamt Aussig, 28 April 1908.

An accusation of theft from a local brothel also reflects the fiscal acumen of Pola-born prostitute Maria Susan. Rosa Viani, who ran a brothel at Via Pescheria, 4, together with Susan, who had been resident there at least since 1910, appeared at police headquarters at six o'clock in the morning of 16 February 1912 to report the theft of some 400 crowns from the latter's room. They claimed that before leaving the brothel to celebrate Carnival the previous evening, Susan had left her room key with another brothel employee. About midnight, Viani reported, she saw a fifty-four-year-old laborer, the gray-haired, heavy-set widower Augusto Malombra, coming down the stairs by Susan's room. Viani claimed that she immediately thought Malombra must have stolen "something." He had a "bad reputation;" indeed, he was a "dangerous" burglar. He was also Susan's lover.

Tipsy and still wearing her Carnival mask, Susan had returned to the brothel just after midnight, immediately falling asleep. When Susan awakened at five o'clock that morning, Viani informed her that Malombra had entered her room during her absence and suggested that he might have stolen something. Malombra, Viani told the police, had been one of Susan's regular "guests" of late. Indeed, she had spent Christmas Eve with him. While at his home over the holidays, Susan had given him her room key so he could fetch her gramophone. Viani speculated that the previous December Malombra had had a second key made to Susan's room, and had just made use of it. Moreover, according to Viani, Susan had told him "often enough" about her savings. Finally, Viani recounted that when she encountered Malombra as he was leaving her brothel, he told her, "I'm going away so she [Susan] can't say I've robbed her."

Police arrested Malombra early that same morning for suspicious behavior. They searched his house and found numerous packets of cigarettes, which they assumed had been stolen. Malombra admitted carousing almost every night in brothels and inns. He had been, he claimed, at Casino "Rosa's" at Via Pescheria, 4—"Rosa" was Viani's first name; Via Pescheria, 4 was her brothel's address—for half an hour that very night. When searched in jail, he was found to have a key in his pocket, but it was not to Susan's room. Malombra was tried that March, found guilty of violating paragraph 171 of the Austrian Criminal Code for theft and sentenced to one year in jail.[46]

Another example of criminals lavishing money on brothels is the case of forty-one-year-old Theodor Kristenek from Prerau in southern Moravia, whom residents of the Letz establishment on Gutenberggasse had arrested, probably for disorderly behavior, during the wee morning hours of 1 May 1914. His story resembles those of the embezzlers and thieves that the Aussig police commissioner described. Kristenek allegedly stole three money orders worth 3,450 crowns from his employer, Böhm.-Mähr. Betonbauunternehmen of Prerau on 29 April, and left for Vienna immediately afterward. Arriving in the imperial capital, he went on a drinking spree at numerous inns before spending the night at a Leopoldstadt hotel. The following day, he boarded a train from the Südbahnhof bound for Trieste. Kristenek "lost his

[46] AST, Tribunale Provinciale (1850–1923), Atti penali 4514, Atti del processo penale contro Augusto Malombra. Schneider's 1910 census data on Trieste's prostitutes reveals Susan's presence in the brothel at least from 1910; see *Zois in Nighttown*, 353.

courage" and left the train at Wiener Neutstadt, some 60 kilometers south of Vienna, where he again went "carousing." He then returned by automobile to Vienna, where his riotous behavior continued. Kristenek purchased a revolver for about 150 crowns as well as two lottery tickets, one of which he gave to either a prostitute or housekeeper. He later told police that he could not recall. Indeed, Kristenek was already tipsy when he arrived at Letz's, where he ate and drank "a lot" of champagne. He remembered paying fifty crowns for a bottle of champagne, and spending an additional 300 or 400 crowns. He never entered the brothel's salon, where he might have chosen a prostitute dressed in a ball gown or a negligee, or from a photograph album containing the women's pictures. Rather, upon entering the tolerated house, "he had been taken straight upstairs to one of the girls." Kristenek claimed that he had left the recently purchased revolver—unloaded—on the bedside night table, so any alleged threats he might have made were jokes. He could provide few details because he was, as he told police, "intoxicated." Kristenek still had 1,693 crowns on his person when he was taken into custody. Viennese police held the revolver, the unspent cartridges, the lottery tickets, and other material. They informed the Prerau police that Kristenek had been apprehended, so the police there could make arrangements to transfer the alleged culprit to their jurisdiction.[47] As the case disappeared from Vienna, it also disappeared from the vice police records.

Brothel prostitutes faced greater violence than the bruises and other injuries police reported in their regular inspections of brothels, some noting laconically that such injuries were within the scope of the women's employ. They experienced other job-related danger, including demands for perverse sex, and violence at the hands of their clients, sometimes leading to alcoholism, depression, or attempted suicide.[48] Although clients seldom murdered prostitutes in brothels, it was not unknown, as the examples below demonstrate.

In a July 1912 murder case that attracted attention across Austria, police arrested twenty-three-year-old Triestine house painter Carlo Witt for viciously stabbing to death twenty-eight-year-old Luigia Alfonsi on a busy Saturday night in one of the "most notorious" of the brothels that crowded Via San Filippo in the Old Town. The Padua-born prostitute, described in newspaper reports as a lively woman who was given to drink, had allegedly refused the man's entreaties to be his girlfriend/mistress. Indeed, she had another lover. Witt had killed her with her own knife in a drunken rage and then slightly injured himself. The court declared the accused, who was apparently "catatonic" in the wake of the murder, incompetent to stand trial. Erik Holmes Schneider, who has closely analyzed this case, concludes the failure to try Witt owed to his victim being a prostitute.[49] Elsewhere in Austria,

[47] LPDW, PM, 1906/1, k.k. Hofrat Stukart to k.k. Landersgericht in Strafsachen Abt. XVIII in Wien, 2 May 1914.

[48] Cases of prostitute suicide, and attempted suicide, can regularly be found on the inside pages of many dailies. For example, the *Bukowiner Post* and *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, both 16 July 1914, 5.

[49] *Cech. Der Böhme*, 20 July 1912, 6; *Czernowitzer Tagblatt,* 17 July 1912, 2; *Triester Tagblatt*, 15 July 1912, 2; *Znaimer Tagblatt*, 17 July 1912, 1; Schneider's analysis in *Zois in Nighttown*, 124–36.

however, police appear to have put a great deal of effort into apprehending those who murdered prostitutes, and the accused were brought to trial.

In a less widely publicized murder case, one night in late January 1913, a client murdered seventeen-year-old Bronislawa Schmidt in one of the Grabenstraße brothels in Czernowitz's Jewish neighborhood where she worked. Authorities did not initially know who the young man was, because brothel clients were not obliged to identify themselves; they were simply obliged to have sufficient money to pay for sex. Schmidt apparently took the young man to a room, then immediately absented herself for "a not inconsiderable time," possibly upsetting him. He allegedly said nothing when she finally returned to the room, but soon afterward two shots were heard throughout the establishment. When the brothel's other occupants forced open the door to the room, they found two bodies. Schmidt appeared to have been shot while trying to escape. Described as dressed in "city clothing" and giving the impression of belonging to the commercial class, the young man had allegedly pulled a gun on Schmidt and then turned it on himself. Police soon identified a man they initially thought to be in his mid-twenties because of his physical development, but who was in reality a nineteen-year-old local, Stanislav H. (his family name was withheld in newspaper reports), a gymnasium student, and reputedly a bad one, who had previously spoken of committing suicide. And the young woman? She apparently played the harmonica and spoke to her clients before the sex act. No one ever knew why he killed her, or himself.[50]

CONCLUSION

Austrian bourgeois society devalued women who engaged in commercial sex, making little effort to consider them as individuals, as Graz's senior public prosecutor made clear when he raised the rhetorical question, which causes the lesser harm for public welfare:

> a single case of exploitation as in the Riehl case or the closing of the brothels, which, based on [his] experience, [would] encourage the spread of venereal disease and sink sexual morals into the deepest morass.[51]

Officials' characterizations of tolerated prostitutes continued to resemble that which appeared in the *Illustrierte Oesterreichische Kriminal-Zeitung* one year after the conclusion of the Riehl trial: "everyone knows that these *Lustweiber* are a necessary evil, which with sufficient medical and administrative control pose no great danger" (to the greater society).[52]

The women who registered as prostitutes in Habsburg Austria were a varied group. Brothel sex was a multi-confessional, multi-generational, and multi-lingual

[50] *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 23 January 1913, 3; and *Wiek Nowy*, 24 January 1913, 5.

[51] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 13479/07, k.k. Oberstaatsanwaltschaft in Graz, 14 March 1907.

[52] *Illustrierte Oesterreichische Kriminal-Zeitung*, 2 Sept. 1907, 6.

undertaking. It was also a mobile and often temporary one: women moved in and out of regulation depending on their economic and personal situations. My research suggests the reasons why women became prostitutes—dissatisfaction with low-paid jobs as maids, waitresses, factory workers; pregnancy by men who left them—as well as why they moved in and out of prostitution. While these predominantly working-class women tended to come from regions nearby where they worked as prostitutes, they also moved, perhaps to earn more money or to escape hospital confinement for VD. While most brothel prostitutes were between twenty-one and twenty-five years old, many were younger and some were older—sometimes much older. There is no evidence of a single "language of sex" in brothels, some of which housed women from across the Monarchy.

While regulated prostitutes were the most closely observed members of the working class, we know little about their lives when they were not part of the police register. We still hear more from the state, in the form of physicians and the police, and from society, in the form of their neighbors, reformers, and even male novelists whose fictional representations have often come to be taken at face value, than we do from the residents themselves about brothel life.

5

Clandestine Prostitutes

Women of the Streets, their Pimps, the Vice Police, and the Public

> Reasonable suspicion exists if a woman is walking back and forth on a public street in a deliberately noticeable way, with the intention of attracting men . . .
>
> *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 17 December 1899[1]

> . . . then the sidewalks were so sprinkled with women for sale that it was more difficult to avoid than to find them.
>
> Stefan Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*[2]

Clandestine prostitutes, who constituted the greatest number of prostitutes in large cities, were also part of the social fabric in less urban areas. In some smaller municipalities, however, they caused insufficient nuisance to warrant sustained police attention. The term "clandestine," which Austrian vice police, reformers, and others used as if it were self-evident, was broadly employed. In addition to women who regularly walked the streets, the term encompassed women who occasionally or temporarily engaged in commercial sex to augment their low-paid employment, who did not necessarily consider themselves prostitutes, and who did not want to attract the scrutiny of the vice police. When practiced by women in rural areas, local officials sometimes designated clandestine prostitution as *verschämt*, or "coy," prostitution.

These elusive women were a varied group who for the most part come to our attention through the mediation of others: their scandalized neighbors, who denounced them for "ruining" the neighborhood with their streetwalking, the bourgeois reformers who sought to "save" them, the physicians who treated them for venereal disease, the paternalistic city fathers who sought to remove them from bourgeois sight, the vice police who arrested them, and the judges who sentenced them to prison, reform school, compulsory labor, and expulsion from their jurisdictions. Tabloid journalists brought them to the public eye, raising both community health and morals

[1] "Begründeter Verdacht liegt vor, wenn eine Frau auf der öffentlichen Straße auf und abgeht, vorsätzlich ein auffallendes Benehmen zur Schau trägt, Männer in der Absicht, sie anzulocken," *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 17 December 1899, 8.

[2] Stefan Zweig, *The World of Yesterday: An Autobiography* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964), 83.

concerns, and novelists romanticized them. They included both women who had formerly been tolerated prostitutes but had aged out of brothels, and young women engaging in commercial sex for the first time. Some were recent migrants who had failed to find "honest" work, while others were seasonal laborers or women in low-paying positions who sought *Herrenbekanntschaften* (to make male acquaintances; male admirers) to augment their low wages. While some long-term streetwalkers, or women who regularly frequented taverns and nightspots in search of clients, often accompanied by their pimps, might have been part of a criminal underworld, others, especially those who engaged in casual sex on a temporary or part-time basis, were not.

Clandestine prostitutes—those women not registered with police, but who engaged in commercial sex, regularly or irregularly—constituted an estimated 90 percent of all prostitutes in the larger cities of late imperial Austria, indeed, throughout Europe. These women were at the nexus of several sometimes contradictory discourses. Some journalists and police considered clandestine prostitutes to be a dangerous part of the criminal underworld, involved with their pimps in committing theft and causing bodily harm, while police physicians condemned them as carriers of the "most virulent form" of venereal disease.[3] Journalists, novelists, and reformers often described them as "fallen," while working-class activists located these working-class women's sexual commerce in the context of the low wages they were paid for more "respectable" work.

In this chapter, I challenge the popular contemporary notion that these women constituted an alcoholic, degenerate, criminal class, and that they were somehow socially "irredeemable." Some of the women did have records for minor crimes, often for petty theft and vagrancy, in addition to their arrests for clandestine prostitution. Others made the economic decision to take up clandestine prostitution to augment badly paid labor or joblessness. They were part of a wider working-class community, from which most of them came and into which they disappeared when not engaged in clandestine prostitution.[4] The relative ease with which these women could move in and out of social identities helps explain why few of them were willing to register with vice police and be stigmatized as a prostitutes.

CONSTRUCTING THE CLANDESTINE PROSTITUTE

Contemporary descriptions of clandestine prostitutes provide both a window into bourgeois fears and anxieties about working-class sexuality, and a more or less accurate reflection of many of these women's lives. While some younger women still living at home might engage in commercial sex to earn extra money, other women arrested for clandestine prostitution lived at the margins of society. They

[3] For example, a Pola man's accusation that he had been beaten and robbed by a prostitute and her male accomplice, *Il Proletario*, 10 June 1902, 2.

[4] Stefan Slater has made this argument for interwar London prostitutes in "Prostitutes and Popular History: Notes on the 'Underworld', 1918–1939," *Crime, Histoire, & Sociétés/Crime, History & Societies* 13/1 (2009): 28–9.

came from deprived backgrounds, even abject poverty. Some were illegitimate, had lost a parent or been orphaned at a young age, or were part of large, poverty-stricken families whose parents could not support them. They were employed in badly paid, sometimes dangerous jobs, often in factories or as servants, which could be less remunerative than prostitution. How much money clandestine prostitutes earned from commercial sex was revealed primarily in the comments of others, including arrest records and journalistic exposés. Some of the older women might share their shabby dwellings with others in similar economic conditions, perhaps supporting children, who might be illegitimate. An alcoholic, disabled, or unemployed husband might complete the household, or the husband might be absent altogether.[5]

Bohemian-born Adolfine Exner's background was the kind that might be associated with clandestine prostitution. Her handyman father had died when she was nine, and her mother soon afterward. Upon finishing school at the age of fourteen, Exner had gone to live with her aunt and older sister in Fischern, a working-class suburb of Karlsbad. She subsequently followed the example of several decades of Bohemian migrants to Saxony, but remained only a short time.[6] Exner was then said to have wandered, jobless, through various cities in Germany, where nothing was heard of her, although she allegedly engaged in clandestine prostitution. In 1911, the by then seventeen-year-old Exner was sent to Bohemia's provincial reformatory.[7]

As the unnamed working-class women who spoke at the 1908 Austrian Society for Combating Venereal Diseases (ÖGBG) conference in Vienna observed, some of those who participated in casual clandestine sex work part-time were otherwise gainfully employed—if badly paid—for much or all of the year. In addition to female servants, whose employers regularly let them go in the summer, fashion embroiderers, whose work was also seasonal, and seamstresses, whose pay was very low, might "establish relationships" with men, that is, exchange sex for goods or money.[8] Women who engaged in prostitution only on a casual, seasonal, short-term, or even an emergency basis did not register with police, even in cities where regulated prostitutes were permitted to live outside brothels. Rather than self-identify as prostitutes, some women may have thought of themselves as participating

[5] See SOkAKV, Box 147, k.k. Bezirkshauptsmannschaft in Fischern, 23 March 1916, for a description of the residents of a run-down Fischern dwelling that the city had seized. Owned by a married couple with the husband in jail elsewhere, the residents included an unmarried couple, the woman supporting the man, a casual laborer, with clandestine prostitution. Two more women, one of whom had a five-year-old illegitimate daughter, rented rooms there. They also lacked regular employment, working part-time as barmaids while engaging in clandestine prostitution.

[6] On northern Bohemian workers seeking better pay and better jobs migrating to Saxony beginning in the 1870s, see Caitlin E. Murdock, *Changing Places: Society, Culture, and Territory in the Saxon-Bohemian Borderlands, 1870–1946* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 35–9.

[7] SOkAKV, Okresní úřad, Lebensbeschreibung, 9 September 1910, 5 January 1911.

[8] Comments by an unnamed *Krawattennäherin* and *Modestickerin*, "Die Enquete der ÖGBG," 127, 128. Walkowitz and Walkowitz remark that prostitution brought higher earnings than gainful female working-class employment, "'We Are Not Beasts of the Field': Prostitution and the Poor in Plymouth and Southampton under the Contagious Diseases Act," *Feminist Studies* 1/3–4, Special Double Issue: Women's History (Winter—Spring 1973): 73–106 (83–4).

in traditional barter of goods for sexual favors.[9] Still other women, as Chapter Four demonstrates, moved from clandestine to regulated prostitution or between regulated and clandestine prostitution during their working lives, in which prostitution of one kind or another played a role of varying importance.

Higher up the economic scale were the women who were involved in a different kind of clandestine prostitution. Addresses or photographs of women who were not usually associated with prostitution were sometimes in the possession of a so-called *Aufführfrau* (a female panderer), who organized their meetings with men; this was the accusation leveled against Helene/Ilka Löwy, discussed in Chapter One. Their motives for engaging in clandestine sexual behavior are unknown. Still other women who were accused of occasionally engaging in illicit sex—"well-protected" daughters, including schoolgirls, and "honorable" wives—signaled a slow shift in sexual behavior after the turn of the century and prompted discussion because their activities fed contemporary concerns about the decline in bourgeois morals. Rather than being "professional" prostitutes, the culprits were women who were allegedly "interested solely in their own sexual pleasure" rather than obtaining material advantage. Not only were such women to blame for their behavior, according to the journalists who wrote about them; so too, were their husbands and fathers, men who were absent or not sufficiently watchful of their daughters and wives.[10]

Their petit-bourgeois and even some of their working-class neighbors, who increasingly adopted bourgeois morals by the late nineteenth century, had a clear idea of who among them might be clandestine prostitutes. Both their neighbors and bourgeois reformers denounced women they believed were participating in illicit commercial sex, often for the same reasons they complained to local and regional authorities about prostitutes in regulated brothels. Moreover, in cities where registered prostitutes were permitted to live outside brothels, their critics seldom distinguished between independent and clandestine prostitutes in complaints about streetwalkers, although the hours during which registered women could take to the streets looking for clients were often stipulated by decree.

Sometimes clandestine and independent prostitutes uneasily shared the same public spaces. In late summer 1907, a journalist for the *Illustrierte Österreichische Kriminal-Zeitung* described the "formal battles" between clandestine and independent prostitutes on Alserstrasse, close to the Vienna's Provincial Court, where both promenaded. Independent prostitutes believed the competition of their clandestine sisters lowered the prices they could demand from their clients.[11]

Even as specialists like Police High Commissioner Anton Baumgarten and University Professor Ernst Finger, as well as police and aid organizations, argued that reformatories had little success in rehabilitating prostitutes, Austrian vice police

[9] On the difficulty of distinguishing the line between prostitution and traditional barter, see Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 15. See also nineteenth-century English commentators describing extensive sexual promiscuity among the lower classes in Walkowitz and Walkowitz, "'We Are Not Beasts of the Field,'" 83.

[10] *Wiener Kriminal- und Detektiv-Zeitung*, 11 September 1907, 5.

[11] *Illustrierte Österreichische Kriminal-Zeitung*, 2 September 1907, 7.

continued to employ the vagabond law to place girls with multiple convictions for clandestine prostitution in reformatories, and women in *Zwangsanstalten* (coercive institutions; workhouses) upon completion of their jail sentences.[12] Repeat arrests for clandestine prostitution could result in expulsion, jail time, or sentencing to a reform school or another coercive institution. Triestine officials sent one sixteen-year-old to a reformatory in Styria following her second three weeks' incarceration for clandestine prostitution in February 1914. The next month, they sentenced a woman in her mid-twenties, who had previously been expelled from the city, to a workhouse. Described in court records as an "incorrigible, violent whore," she had numerous previous convictions for clandestine prostitution.[13] Amalija Potokar, whom Laibach police regularly arrested for clandestine prostitution between June 1903 and June 1908, also appears to have been incorrigible. Police sent her to a workhouse in 1905, but upon completion of her sentence, Potokar returned to practicing clandestine commercial sex in Laibach.[14]

An arrest for clandestine prostitution of girls still living at home might serve as a warning to parents about their daughters' sexual behavior. While some parents permitted their wayward daughters to register with the vice police, others did not. When the mayor of Eger, a small town in western Bohemia, informed the Karlsbad police that seventeen- and nineteen-year-old Karlsbad residents Elizabeth Hartmann and Luise Lindner had been arrested for engaging in clandestine commercial sex on 20 March 1914, he identified the former as a prostitute and nanny and the latter as a prostitute and companion. He described them as "reckless," the standard term Austrian vice police applied to the women they arrested for selling sex. According to Eger police reports, a man had paid them two crowns apiece to have sex. Eger's mayor asked if Hartmann had a previous arrest record, whether she were already registered with the vice police, and if her parents were aware of her "way of life." Local authorities in any case issued the two young women train tickets for Karlsbad and ascertained that they had left Eger. Karlsbad's deputy mayor responded that Hartmann had no police record, nor had she previously been registered with vice police. Although Hartmann's widowed mother, Caroline, admitted that her daughter was often away for two or three days at a time in Linder's company, she did not condone her daughter's conduct and did not want her registered with police. She said she would have to be stricter in the future.[15]

Some specialists condemned clandestine prostitutes as the source of the most virulent forms of syphilis. Whether the venereal disease was more acute among clandestine prostitutes or whether their rates of disease were actually higher than those of brothel prostitutes remained an issue of contention, not only because the

[12] "Die Regelung der Prostitution in Österreich," 62; also the Walkowitz and Walkowitz comment about rescue homes taking only younger women whom they considered more amenable to reform, "'We Are Not Beasts of the Field,'" 84.

[13] AST, LL, Atti generali, Box 2423, k.k. küstenl. Stattlhalterei in Triest, correspondence from the k.k. Polizei-direktion, 2 February 1914 and 16 March 1914.

[14] Cvelfar, "No, zdaj pa če imaš denar, daj ga sem, potem se pa hitro z menoj spolsko združi," 16.

[15] SOkAKV, AMKV, Spisy, B-XIV-188.

former were not examined regularly.[16] Hospital records reveal that many women in low-paying forms of employment, among them factory workers and maids, had venereal disease.[17] Not all of these patients had become infected as a result of prostitution. Other possibilities included having been infected by their husbands or lovers or having had multiple sex partners. Lemberg police physician Jan Papée encouraged fellow police physicians to work harder to combat clandestine prostitution, and to bring as many clandestine prostitutes as possible into the system of medical inspection for a reason other than combating VD. These women might unknowingly serve as subjects for long-term medical study because of the variety of questions they were asked and the possibility they offered for regular observation.

Clandestine prostitutes were considered to pose such a threat to bourgeois morals because of their independence of action. They approached potential clients in gardens, parks, and other green spaces, where men and women interested in anonymous sexual liaisons could meet, thus providing the "lowest category" of women an immediate, open area for engaging in commercial sex. These women also sought prospective clients in railroad stations, in shoddy establishments where liquor was served, and on the streets in particular neighborhoods where possible customers were thought to congregate. Even railroad cars were alleged to offer the possibility of an illicit sexual encounter. One "Jos. St." wrote to the *Illustrierte Österreichische Kriminal-Zeitung* about his experience on a train to Mährisch Ostrau. The newspaper published his letter in September 1907 with the proviso that it seemed "unbelievable" to them. A senior conductor, his uniform "sporting rosettes of distinction," told Jos. St. that he "had something in the train," in such a manner that he understood the "something" to be a young woman. When Jos. St. maintained what he described as a cool reserve, the conductor told him to have a look. Because Jos. St. was "curious," he did look, and in the corridor or the next car, there was a young woman, apparently on offer. (He did not say if he took up the offer.) When Jos. St. later told his acquaintances about the incident, he was shocked to learn that on this stretch of the railroad such "trade" was not rare. Frequent travelers were familiar with it.[18]

Clandestine prostitution was associated with the disreputable drink trade, especially drunken excesses, bawdy inns and taverns, cheap wine bars, *Tingl-Tangl* (low-end dance halls), and all-night cafés (and night dairies in cities like Czernowitz and Lemberg, which were more or less cafés).[19] At least some of the waitresses employed at these establishments were at the same time clandestine prostitutes because of their low pay, or even no pay at all. They worked together with the owners, who

[16] Jan Papée, "Die Syphilis unter den Prostituierten in Lemberg," *Archiv für Dermotologie und Syphilis* 89/1 (1908): 9.

[17] The Czernowitz criminal police report for 1907 reveals that the provincial hospital had admitted twenty-eight maids, three vagabonds, three laborers, thirteen prostitutes, and one "professional" who had syphilis or venereal disease. That same report revealed 23 arrests for clandestine prostitution, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 24 April 1908, 3.

[18] *Illustrierte Österreichische Kriminal-Zeitung*, 16 September 1907, 9.

[19] Tales of drunken prostitutes could be found on the inside pages of many of the Monarchy's newspapers during this era, for example a report from Pola in *Il Proletario*, 18 June 1902, 2.

believed these female employees would bring additional clients, and who kept an extra room on the premises for illicit paid sex. Independent and other clandestine prostitutes also met prospective clients in these locales. This situation constituted an ongoing hygienic and social problem for local authorities, and in many larger Austrian cities was the subject of regular journalistic exposés.[20] As elsewhere in the Monarchy, there was clandestine prostitution in Dalmatia's lower-end guesthouses and taverns as well as among traveling singers and other musical groups.[21]

According to the *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, the owners of Czernovitz's night cafés had long exploited all of their employees, so it was no surprise that their cashiers had been placed under the supervision of vice police; this was an issue of public health and welfare. Certainly, many clandestine prostitutes found their clients in such locales.[22] Not only sexual debauchery reflected the low moral character of these cafés, where clientele often drank tea laced with cognac and other liquor, a decidedly non-bourgeois practice. The entire environment, which included female bands, even "gypsy" bands in some towns, was one of general dissolution, according to journalists. By March 1906, the Czernowitz police had taken measures that forced owners of night cafés with female employees to close at midnight. Their critics hoped this measure would force the cafés out of business.[23] It did not. Cheap drink and anonymous sex remained a part of déclassé nighttime culture for the duration of the Monarchy.

PIMPS

In addition to women walking the streets, the Monarchy's residents also complained bitterly about the pimps who so often accompanied them. In Vienna, these men were popularly known as "Strizzis," said to come from the Czech word, *strýc*, for uncle; in Cracow, "Alfonses," popularly considered to derive from the name of the title character in a play by Alexandre Dumas *fils*, "Monsieur Alphonse"; or "Kaftans," the Yiddish word for the long coat worn by religiously observant Jewish men; and in Moravia, "Louis," whose origin I have not found.[24] Indeed, one of the

[20] See for example the multipart series "Lwów w nocy" in *Wiek Nowy* in April 1907; also *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 4 March 1906, 4–5; 19 April 1914, 5; and *Gazeta Polska*, 4 March 1906, 2–3.

[21] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, Statthalter in Zara to k.k. Minister des Innern, 17 April 1907. Those female bands and singing groups that traveled abroad were suspect as covers for trafficking in girls; see Chapter Six.

[22] Such sites of illicit commercial sex were widespread. In his study *Prophylaxie de la syphilis par le traitement* (Paris: Masson et Cie., Éditeurs, 1900), [Jean] Alfred Fournier mentions the back rooms of wine merchants as *the* place where both the "lower classes" and the military rank and file engaged in illicit sex.

[23] *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 4 March 1906, 4–5; *Gazeta Polska*, 4 March 1906, 2–3.

[24] In *Semantics and Pragmatics of False Friends* (London: Routledge, 2008), 170, n. 5, Pedro J. Chamizo-Domínguez comments that like the Poles' "Alfons," the French use "Alphonse" for pimp in reference to the Dumas *fils* play "Monsieur Alphonse," but notes that there are examples of this term being used before 1873. On the 1905 pogrom of the same name in Warsaw, see Keely Stauter-Halsted, *The Devil's Chain: Prostitution and Social Control in Partitioned Poland* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), 196–7, 214–16, and 222–6.

reasons many police advocated brothel prostitution was because it removed prostitutes and their pimps from the streets. As one enraged Viennese father wrote to *Illustrierte Österreichische Kriminal-Zeitung* in late summer 1907, he could not even leave his daughters, who were twelve and fifteen years old, alone on the street in the evening, because he had repeatedly observed "fat, flat-footed" pimps, "mostly of the Hungarian nation and of Jewish appearance," asking his girls if they would like to move in with them."[25] This kind of complaint reflects both Budapest's reputation as a den of inequity, and popular assumptions about who constituted pimps, among them Jews and foreigners, that is, "different." Such prejudices were not limited to Vienna.

Who were these men who bartered women's bodies? According to Baumgarten, most were twenty- to thirty-five-year-old men from the lower classes. Although they were sometimes stereotyped as Jews and Hungarians, pimps, like their prostitutes, were of varied ethnic and national backgrounds, ages, and religions. Like clandestine prostitutes, pimps were often un- or underemployed, or held a variety of badly paid jobs. They might be servants, coachmen, day laborers, or waiters. Some pimps had criminal records unrelated to prostitution, often convictions for crimes against property or violence.

Pimps kept company with both clandestine and independent, registered prostitutes, whom they exploited. They seldom lived with these women, but rather visited their digs, sometimes bringing clients with them. Pimps accompanied the women on their evening promenades in search of customers. The pimp was meant to warn his prostitute if the police were close by, to protect her from danger, and to prevent competition from other prostitutes.[26] Any prostitute who failed to provide her pimp with the money he expected might receive a beating.

Individual pimps came to public attention primarily when they were arrested or tried for crimes.[27] Pimps were regularly charged with mistreating their prostitutes, sometimes beating them; often because they wanted the woman to provide more income, or, less often, because they were jealous. In July 1908, a twenty-five-year-old laborer who had a previous criminal record was charged in court in Leopoldstadt with ripping his prostitute's clothing and destroying her furniture after she failed to give him "enough" money. The prostitute sought to defend her pimp, testifying that it was her fault he attacked her: she had angered him. The presiding judge rejected the woman's claim, and that of her pimp, that they had a "personal relationship." He noted that the pair did not share an abode, and sentenced the man to six weeks in jail and threatened to send him to a workhouse.[28]

The criminal behavior of Triestine pimps, like that of its prostitutes, was discussed across the Monarchy. Their misdeeds were regularly described under the headline, "From the Swamp of the Metropolis," as part of its reporting on the Littoral in the *Grazer Tagblatt*. Prostitutes and pimps got into bar fights in the Old

[25] *Illustrierte Österreichische Kriminal-Zeitung*, 30 Sept 1907, 8.
[26] Anton Baumgarten, "Die Prostitution," in "Die Enquete der ÖGBG," *ZBG* 9 (1908): 143.
[27] See for example *Grazer Tagblatt*, 7 December 1906, 26.
[28] *A-Z*, 22 July 1908, 9.

Town. Pimps mistreated their prostitutes, threatening them with bodily harm, sometimes inflicting it, if they were displeased.[29] Prostitutes and their pimps also conspired to rob unsuspecting victims, like the young house painter from South Tirol who came to the port city with his inheritance, which he planned to use to emigrate to the United States. He lost that money after he fell in with a couple of prostitutes and their pimp. The three were arrested on suspicion of theft.[30]

SITES OF CLANDESTINE PROSTITUTION IN VIENNA AND PRAGUE

Especially in larger Austrian cities, members of the public regularly complained about the vice police response to clandestine prostitution, which they considered too limited, and which they believed regularly had the effect of clearing some streets by moving these unruly women and the threat they posed elsewhere.[31] Residents accused police of paying too little attention to streetwalkers, to the detriment of their neighborhoods. At the turn of the century, Vienna and Prague, the Austrian cities with the highest rates of in-migration, were also among the Monarchy's metropolises with the worst reputations as hotbeds of illicit sex, together with Budapest, Lemberg, and Trieste. Local journalists in these cities contributed to popular perceptions of prostitution with numerous articles on widespread commercial sex in their own cities. In summer and autumn 1907, two Viennese newspapers that focused on criminal behavior, *Illustrierte Österreichische Kriminal-Zeitung* and *Wiener Kriminal- und Detektiv-Zeitung*, ran multi-week exposés on prostitution in the imperial capital. Regular reports about the violence of the demimonde, especially in the boulevard press, helped keep women who exchanged sex for money in the public eye.

Many of those from the Habsburg East arrived at Nordbahnhof in Leopoldstadt, the biggest, busiest, and most important railway station in the Monarchy (Illustration 5.1). Migrants spilled out of it into Leopoldstadt. This neighborhood was among the most densely populated districts in the capital, and home to a large number of poor immigrants.

Taking a variety of forms, independent and clandestine prostitution was widely practiced on the streets of Leopoldstadt, where there were no tolerated brothels. Contemporary observers argued that Vienna had become a suburb of Budapest, which had a reputation as a "real brothel city," where the business was well organized.[32] They also pointed out that these migrants included numerous unsavory elements, many from Budapest. Viennese journalists warned that numerous

[29] *Grazer Tagblatt*, 19 December 1908, 10; 11 March 1914, 9; 14 April 1914, 8.

[30] *Grazer Tagblatt*, 4 November 1913, 8.

[31] On police efforts to clear the streets of Ireland's large cities of clandestine prostitution, see Maria Luddy, *Prostitution and Irish Society, 1800–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 29. On prostitutes as medical subjects, see Stauter-Halsted, *The Devil's Chain*, Chapter 8, "The Physician and the Fallen Woman."

[32] Wolfgang Sorge, *Die Geschichte der Prostitution* (Berlin: Verlag Dr. Potthof & Co., 1919), 436.

Illustration 5.1. Nordbahnhof, the point of entry into the imperial capital for many internal immigrants (ÖNB/Vienna).

objectionable denizens of the Hungarian capital, which they deemed the *Hurenstadt* (city of whores) had come to the imperial capital to participate in various forms of nightlife: pickpockets, pimps, habitual gamblers, street musicians, and barkeeps from the "Magyar nation had all found their El Dorado in Vienna." And that, they wrote, was not even taking into consideration the numerous brothel residents who had arrived from the "Land of Paprika."[33] Based on anecdotal evidence, Galician and Hungarian prostitutes, often Jewish, were the most mobile. Indeed, the "Hungarian" brothel prostitute was a staple of literature set in late imperial Austria. In *Das Trauerhaus*, Werfel casually describes one resident, "Ilonka, 'the rich Hungarian whore.'"[34]

In *Prostitution in Europe*, Abraham Flexner claimed that in the last years before the First World War, there were some 30,000 clandestine prostitutes in Vienna—with fifty to sixty tolerated prostitutes in six brothels, and 1,630 tolerated prostitutes living independently outside of brothels.[35] He does not interrogate the high numbers—far higher than police estimates—nor does he elaborate on them, including the Viennese police estimate that some 30 percent of clandestine prostitutes worked only part-time. Masseuse and manicurist were among the kinds of job titles the police and the public considered to be covers for long-term clandestine prostitution, which was also a common short-term undertaking among unemployed women, many of them recent migrants to the capital. In fact, "every Bohemian cook"

[33] *Illustrierte Öesterreichische Krimnal-Zeitung*, 2 September 1907, 7.

[34] Franz Werfel, *Das Trauerhaus; Erzählung* (Munich: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1957), 9.

[35] Estimates of clandestine prostitutes in large European cities at the turn of the century varied widely. Abraham Flexner, *Prostitution in Europe*, reprint edn. (Montclair, NJ: Patterson Smith Publishing Company, 1969 [1914]), 174.

who came to Vienna and failed to find legitimate employment within three days was said to begin walking the streets. They joined the legions of women who already sought to make their living on the streets of the imperial capital, some of whom became infected with venereal disease. Because they often failed to see a physician, these women went from one client to the other until one or more of the men got syphilis. And, because these men had little medical knowledge, they, in turn, "carried a souvenir from their meeting out into the world."[36]

The number of nightclubs and hotels that rented rooms by the hour—sometimes changing hands as often as ten times a night, with the exiting couple reputedly opening the door for the arriving one—was also on the rise, all resulting from the alleged increase in Viennese police tolerance of such behavior. While there had to be inns in the big city where "love birds" could satisfy a "natural instinct," opined the author of one article on prostitution in Vienna, hotels that functioned as brothels should not be tolerated, as they were, he claimed, in Vienna's First, Third, and Fourth Districts. It was the responsibility of hotel owners and their staff to notice if the same woman entered the hotel "six times in one night, each time with a different man." The hotel owners, of course, liked this sort of client: She was a source of profit, permitting, as she did, the same room to be rented several times nightly. But, in addition to being the cause of disease, some women robbed their clients with impunity. The hotelier could not help the victims, because he did not know the guests. This kind of "brothel," argued the journalist, was far more dangerous than one that was tolerated. Police should pay particular attention to these hotels, he demanded, firstly on public health grounds. They should expel those women who lacked the right residency for Vienna, send infected women to the hospital, then place them under vice police control; and if they were minors, attempt to set them on the "right road" in life. Moreover, anyone involved in procuring should be punished.[37]

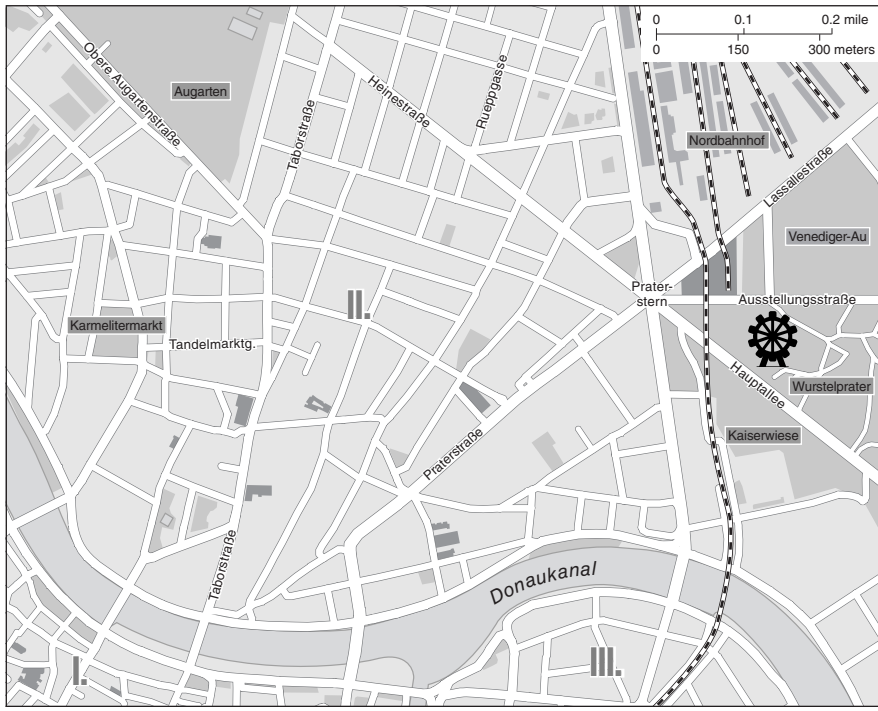
Several discourses—journalistic, medical, and police—converged in analyses of clandestine prostitution in the Second District's "Love Market": the Prater, Vienna's oldest and largest public park, which Emperor Joseph II had opened to the public in 1766. Especially in the evening and on weekends in warm weather, the Prater was filled with people from all social classes. Visitors vociferously complained about the goings-on in there, because some Prater guests not only enjoyed their leisure in the Wurstelprater, sitting in cafés or pubs, drinking coffee and beer, or eating ice cream, they also consumed the wide variety of commercial sexual possibilities on offer.

The Prater, the crowded thoroughfares leading to it, and the dark narrow paths leading away from it,[38] offered both spaces to meet people and numerous possibilities for illicit encounters (see Map 4). Comments in the archival record indicate

[36] "Jede böhmische Köchin, die hierher kommt und nach drei Tagen keinen Platz findet geht 'am Strich,'" *Illustrierte Österreichische Krimnal-Zeitung*, 2 September 1907, 5.

[37] *Illustrierte Österreichische Kriminal-Zeitung*, 19 August 1907, 5–6; 2 September 1907, 6–7; see also Heinrich Müller, *Staatsbordelle* (Vienna: Huber & Lahme [J. Walsche]), 1904), 6, on clandestine prostitution in the Prater and the Stadtpark.

[38] The Prater is the site of "The Soldier and the Chambermaid," the second act of Arthur Schnitzler's provocative 1897 play "Reigen" (La Rondo, or Round Dance).



Map 4. Vienna, Second District (Leopoldstadt), showing the streets and parks where clandestine and tolerated prostitutes lived and worked.

that pimps and procurers, as well as prostitutes, passed time in and around the Prater. Along the tree-lined Praterhauptallee, an allegedly "organized" band of pimps sold their "living wares," that is, clandestine prostitutes, to naïve young men. The pimps and their prostitutes then robbed these same men. The Praterstrasse, a wide boulevard leading to the park that bisected Leopoldstadt, was filled with women "of all ages and all education levels" who offered male visitors the possibility of sexual activity. Along the Prater's sports fields there were reportedly parents who served as pimps for their very young daughters, just as parents had been accused of doing in the Riehl trial.[39]

Some of the women who loitered around the Prater did have bad reputations. They included the well-known Bohemian cooks and shop girls, as well as the infamous *Pratermädchen* (Prater girls) who allegedly had commercial sex right under "God's open sky."[40] Who were these *Pratermädchen*? According to the *Wiener Kriminal- und Detektiv-Zeitung*, they were women at the beginning or the end of their "careers" as clandestine prostitutes. The younger ones still lived with

[39] *Illustrierte Österreichische Kriminal-Zeitung*, 2 September 1907, 7.
[40] *Illustrierte Österreichische Kriminal-Zeitung*, 19 August 1907, 5.

their families and their "work" at the Prater brought them extra money, while the older women were "decommissioned" prostitutes. Because the latter lacked physical charms, they had given up their professional love life, or because they had venereal disease, the police had taken their health books. These women came in the evenings to the Prater in search of men, whom they charged from twenty Heller to one crown per trick. For the higher amount, they offered "something [unspecified] out of the ordinary." As the brother of a fifteen-year-old girl charged with clandestine prostitution in late spring 1916 explained, she had been well behaved until she started keeping company with the "dissolute Prater girls." His sister then began leaving the house in the evening, returning only in the morning, with "money,"[41] her earnings from commercial sex, he implied. The Prater girls continued to have bad reputations through the First World War and later.

Two letters to the editor in the 26 August 1907 edition of *Illustrierte Österreichische Kriminal-Zeitung* specifically complained about the "Venedig-Prater," the world's first theme park, which was constructed in the Wurstelprater during 1890s and demolished in 1916. The author of the first letter characterized it as a "garden bordello," a situation that existed, he explained, because its director was a close friend of the governor of Lower Austria. The other author described a friend's "use" of one of the buffet servers at Venedig-Prater, after which he became "very ill" (presumably with VD) and looked "just terrible." Why were such women not placed under police surveillance and examined at least once a week, he wondered.[42] Speaking at the March 1908 ÖGBG meeting, a physician who lived in the Prater district confirmed the first assertion, commenting that the owners of the Venedig-Prater taverns paid their barmaids so little that they turned to prostitution to support themselves; while chief police physician Anton Merta commented more generally at the same meeting on the linked issues of clandestine prostitution and venereal disease at the Prater. He remarked that the most dangerous prostitutes in terms of venereal disease were the "Prater-, wood-, and nature nymphs," among them very young girls—less than fifteen years old—with very bad syphilis, a situation made even worse by the fact that their customers had been drinking and seldom took any precautions against infection.[43] How much danger did the women pose? They certainly posed a health risk; most of those the police arrested had venereal disease.[44]

There are detailed records of a few of the women frequenting the Prater who came to the attention of police. The reports provide information on the women's background, their health, and the police responses to their behavior. In one 1909 case, police watched an "older" woman in Moravian folk dress and her younger female companion walking the Praterstrasse, often in the evening, for about four weeks. Police finally stopped the older woman at about eight o'clock on the night of

[41] *A-Z*, 11 June 1916, 14.
[42] *Illustrierte Österreichische Kriminal-Zeitung*, 26 August 1907, 5.
[43] Merta, "Diskussion," in "Die Enquete der ÖGBG," 195.
[44] *Wiener Kriminal- und Detektiv-Zeitung*, 12 January 1907, 8–9.

26 April as she was about to enter her Leopoldstadt apartment with a man she had just met on the street. Following her initial denials, Marie Neuwirth—a forty-two-year-old Bohemian-born married Catholic washerwoman and servant—admitted that she had long been a clandestine prostitute. (Despite the elder Neuwirth's original assertion that she had only been engaging in clandestine prostitution for six weeks, Prater police had arrested and jailed her for three days the previous July for the same offense.) The younger woman was her illegitimate daughter, also named Marie. The latter, a fifteen-year-old unemployed maid, had just finished servicing a client in a nearby hotel when police seized her mother. The younger woman, who asserted that she had "long" been a clandestine prostitute, claimed a nineteen-year-old friend, also an out-of-work servant, had influenced her to take up the trade. The younger Neuwirth reported that she usually took the men she met to nearby hotels, or sometimes to her mother's apartment. Her mother had originally scolded her for her dissolute life, she claimed, but in the last three weeks had joined her on the street.

When the police questioned other residents of the building where the two lived, they confirmed having observed mother and daughter entering their apartment with men at all hours. One neighbor claimed to have overheard them discussing division of their illicit earnings, while another reported that the previous Sunday, the women had brought to the apartment two men with whom they had had sexual relations at the same time. The Neuwirths agreed this had happened more than once. For her part, the concierge righteously announced that the older Neuwirth would now have to leave her apartment because of her "scandalous behavior."

Although the police had not believed the daughter's assertion that she had influenced her mother to engage in clandestine prostitution, but rather the reverse, they still searched in vain for the friend who had allegedly encouraged the younger Neuwirth to take up the trade. Because the elder Neuwirth had an earlier arrest, the police charged her with violation of paragraph 12 of the Austrian Criminal Code, including pandering an "innocent" person and permitting someone under her supervision (her daughter) to commit an indecent act. The mother was thus taken to Vienna's prison hospital for treatment after her medical examination revealed that she had syphilis. Neuwirth confirmed that she had noticed a wart-like growth on her labia about a month earlier. The infection had caused no pain, so she had not gone to a doctor. Because of her youth, the police turned the Neuwirth daughter over to a local Catholic welfare organization rather than registering her as a prostitute.[45]

Some of the acquaintances struck at the Prater had even more dangerous consequences than venereal infection. In a February 1914 case of attempted murder in a shabby Leopoldstadt hotel room, a man pulled a knife on a woman, identified as a prostitute, and tried to slit her throat when she demanded six crowns payment from him. Badly injured, she screamed, attracting the attention of a chambermaid, who rushed to her aid. The attacker, described as "mentally inferior"

[45] WStLA, LfS, Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, A-11, Box 253, 4472/1909.

in subsequent news reports, jumped out of the hotel's third-floor window, killing himself. The pair had just met on the Praterstrasse.[46]

In addition to the Prater, Vienna's clandestine prostitutes sought clients in the Rathauspark, which the Rathaus (city hall), the Reichsrat, and the university bordered; and the Stadtpark. Both situated on the Ring, these parks were among the green spaces that the city fathers had increasingly created during the nineteenth century for the enjoyment of all residents. Here the poorest prostitutes could immediately earn their money in one dark corner of the park or another.[47] The prostitute working together with her pimp in a park during the evening hours was a popular theme with the tabloid press. There were reports that in the Stadtpark, prostitutes and pimps conspired to rob the women's clients as they engaged in commercial sex under the moonlight. Their preferred victims were men from the "better classes," husbands or fathers, who would not report the theft of their money or belongings because they feared possible embarrassment.[48]

In Prague, as in Vienna, journalists played an important role in keeping clandestine prostitution in the public eye. Because Prague, too, had a mixed system of regulated prostitution, clandestine and independent prostitutes had long walked the streets of the city, especially in the inner districts. At the end of the nineteenth century, the practice had developed in the Bohemian capital and its suburbs of employing female staff in wine locales. In reality, Police Inspector Chevalier asserted, these premises were nothing other than *Animierstuben*—where women were paid to encourage men to drink and engage in sex—and clandestine brothels. If a "better" guest entered the establishment, and that guest had "something more in mind" than merely a glass of wine, he was immediately shown to a private room, which contained a bottle of wine. Because wine consumption was not the main goal of the encounter, the mostly full bottle would later be retrieved and refilled, often with water from the Vltava, which flowed through the center of Prague. It was then saved for the next guest to use the room for commercial sex.[49] The bacillus content of the river water meant that the "wine" was not good for the imbiber's health. More detrimental to the men's health, and to public hygiene, however, was the fact that these wine bars were also centers for the spread of venereal disease.

Following vociferous protests from neighbors, hundreds of waitresses employed in these locales were eventually placed under vice police surveillance. Some were found to have venereal disease. Indeed, police physicians commented that their infections were sometimes "much worse" than they had ever seen in brothels.[50] Finally, after numerous complaints from the public health insurance company, which had to cover the costs of the women's illnesses, the Bohemian governorship

[46] *DNZ*, 19 February 1914, 4; the incident was reported in newspapers across Austria, for example *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 20 February 1914, 2.

[47] *Illustrierte Österreichische Kriminal-Zeitung*, 26 August 1907, 7.

[48] *Wiener Kriminal- und Detektiv-Zeitung*, 11 September 1907, 4–5.

[49] On similar practices in turn-of-the-century Plymouth pubs, see Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, 156.

[50] Whether clandestine or tolerated prostitutes suffered from more severe cases of venereal disease was a subject of ongoing discussion, especially during wartime.

was able to pressure the trade authority, which was in charge of issuing their licenses, to close many of the wine bars.[51]

Like the residents of Vienna, Prague residents protested to the city hall, to the police, and to the local newspapers about clandestine prostitutes, clandestine brothels, and pimps in their neighborhoods and on their streets, especially in Prague's inner districts, Old and New Towns, as well as the Lesser Side during the first decades of the twentieth century. The city was home to a number of military installations, including the barracks on Josefské náměsti, on the edge of the densely populated Old Town, with its ancient buildings and narrow winding streets, and the larger, more modern, and more populous New Town. Soldiers from these barracks mixed with women of ill repute in the nearby taverns of the Old Town and the night wine bars of New Town.

Prague vice police were popularly considered to be ineffectual, if not corrupt, owing in part to the example of former police detective Friedmann's brothel. According to Inspector Chevalier, however, vice police worked to staunch the spread of clandestine prostitution by police and judicial punishment of prostitutes in accordance with existing regulations, including their expulsion.[52] The question of prostitution sometimes placed city hall, especially those council members who sought to limit streetwalking, at odds with police. In early 1910, city council members addressed the issue of the dance halls in Old Town where the "fun," which began in the afternoons, attracted questionable society, but, they believed, insufficient police attention.[53]

The ever-decreasing number of brothel prostitutes in Prague meant more women walking the streets, including major thoroughfares like Na Příkopě and Wenceslas Square. This abomination "raged" in every large city, as a 12 February 1910 memorandum from the local Police Directorate informed the Prague city government. The police asserted that protests from the residents of Karlová ulice in Old Town and Na Bojišti in New Town about streetwalkers were somewhat exaggerated, and that the situation on the streets was not as dire as they claimed. Indeed, people's complaints about prostitution had recently become habitual. The police promised, however, to try and reduce complaints. In contrast to Vienna's independent prostitutes, the far smaller number in Prague had free choice of housing. They lived anywhere a landlord would let them, but they were to avoid causing "offense."[54] The police suggested that the situation might improve and residents' protests might decline if prostitutes were permitted to reside only on certain streets, as was customary in other large cities.[55]

[51] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, Bericht des k.k. Polizei-Oberkomissärs Ludwig Chevalier in Prag, 3 January 1907.

[52] Státní okresní archiv Děčín (hereafter SOkAD), Archiv města Děčín (hereafter AmD), Box 215, [Ludwig] Chevalier to Bürgermeisteramt Tetschen a.d. Elbe, 1 November 1913.

[53] AHMP, Box 494, Prostituce na Novém Městě, Praes 87/3, Výpis z protokolu o schůzi rady městské konané dne 25. února 1910.

[54] On these women, Milena Lenderová, *Chytila patrola . . . aneb prostituce za Rakouska i republiky* (Prague: Karolinum, 2002), 65–6, 72–3, 123, 128.

[55] AHMP, Box 494, Prostituce, C.k. policejní ředitelství to Praesidium rady, 12 February 1910. See reports of complaints, primarily from residents of Old Town, in relevant issues of *Věstník obecní královského hlavního města Prahy*, 1901–1908, AHMP.

From New Town came complaints about landlords who rented rooms to prostitutes, who were neither identified as independent nor as clandestine.[56] Residents of Soukenická ulice sent an unsigned complaint to city officials in 1911 about nighttime disturbances on their street, citing its night cafés, as well as buildings whose owners rented apartments to pimps. Prostitution, they complained, flourished on all sides and the streets were hazardous at night. This is not surprising because the street was located near both the army's Josefská kasárna (Josef barracks) and the Prague state railway station. The prevailing din, residents continued, including regular fights, disturbed other lodgers' sleep.[57]

An April 1911 Czech-language newspaper exposé, "Tourism in the Big City," echoing the letter-writers' earlier claims, revealed the ills that prevailed in Prague's demimonde. The Old Town, with its all-night cafés and taverns filled with prostitutes, where patrons got into fights that spilled noisily out onto the streets, remained the site of illicit sex. The author described girls as young as sixteen having "clear signs of lack of sleep etched into their faces, walking the streets from the early morning." The women and girls of the street shouted at any passing man, and "their tone and vulgar jokes must offend any decent person." Near city hall and on Malá Karlová, girls of "dubious appearance" loitered beginning at four o'clock in the afternoon. By their gestures, their clothing, and the way they walked, they drew attention to themselves, especially from visitors to the city. In an oblique reference to venereal disease, according to the article, one young man had a fleeting—and "quite expensive"—acquaintance with one of the women. Perhaps the "famous" Prague police, the author thundered, had better things to do than pay attention to public morals![58] About the same time, other residents of the Old Town claimed that one well-placed property owner on their street rented lodgings to three prostitutes who not only walked the streets, but were also involved in pimping. All of their complaints about this criminal behavior to police, they claimed, had been in vain.[59]

Egon Erwin Kisch, well-known essayist and long-time investigative reporter for the prominent Prague daily *Bohemia*, and himself a regular presence in Prague's night cafés, evokes the era in his article "Razzia" (police raid), with his description of his experiences accompanying police on their weekly nighttime raids of dissolute inns in the central districts. En route to their target, police sometimes stopped women they recognized on the street; if their (health) "books" were up to date, they were free to continue on their way. Others, who had "forgotten their books," or who did not possess one, and who claimed in any case to be "going to visit their

[56] AHMP, *Vestník hlavního města Prahy* 23–4, 324, provides the numbers of independent prostitutes registered with police in Prague from 1911 to the end of the Monarchy in 1918: 288, 318, 331, 368, 377, 396, 377, and 327. The majority were between the ages of twenty and twenty-eight.

[57] AHMP, Box 494, Výpis z protokolu o schůzi rady městské, 25 February 1910, Praes 87/3 Prostituce na Novém Městě; and Nájemníci ze Soukenické ul. to Kancelář praesidiální.

[58] AHMP, Box 494, 87/2, Prostituce na Starém Městě veřejná schůze protestní, 1154/praes., "Z ruchu velkoměsta," unidentified Czech-language newspaper, 27 April 1911, n.p. For a fictionalized description of the Prague demimonde at the turn of the century, see Karel Ladislav Kukla, *Noční Prahou: Humoristický Román*, part I (Prague: Pavel Körber, 1905).

[59] *Právo lidu*, 7 August 1911, 8.

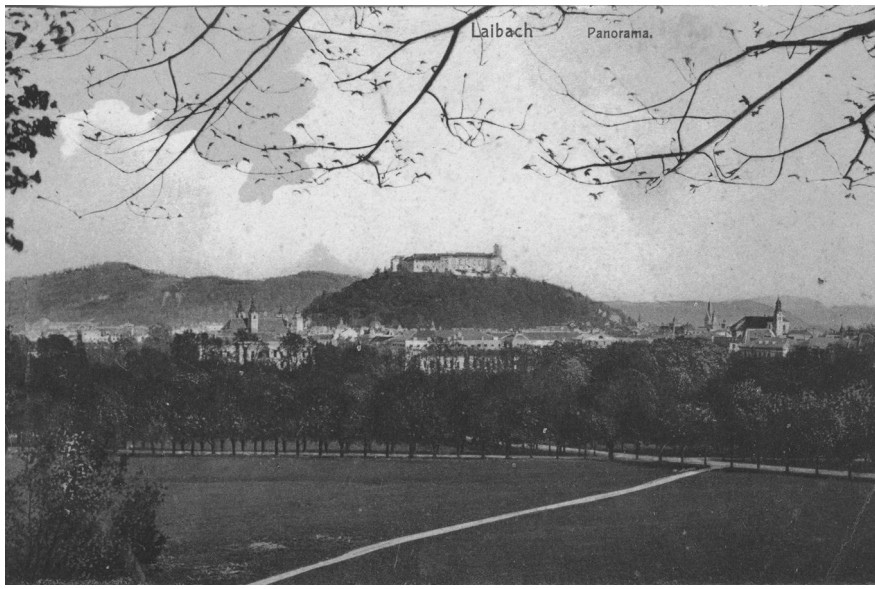


Illustration 5.2. View of Tivoli Park, a favorite rendevous site for Laibach's clandestine prostitutes, with city panorama, 1908 (postcard in the public domain).

sisters," ended up instead visiting the nearest police guard house. Nevertheless, police detectives continued toward their goal: the taverns they were raiding, in which they found numerous women whom they seized on suspicion of engaging in illicit commercial sex. In one case, a young woman and her male companion sought to present themselves as an engaged couple, but the police detective told the woman that he recognized her, although she "had spent the last year in Brünn." Sometimes women reacted "excessively" to police raids, as did the prostitute known as the "Amazon." She attempted to attack a member of the watch with her beer glass.[60] On days following raids, according to Kisch, officials were kept busy writing records, requisitions, and surveys, as well as investigating prostitutes' health. Women who had been arrested were taken to the criminal court, the General Hospital, or the municipal workhouse. The miscreants' home jurisdiction had to be determined and conveyance ordered for those to be expelled.[61] These were the solutions for women caught up in the police raids.

City police were simply unable to keep tabs on illicit commercial sex among their growing populations. In Prague, as in Vienna and elsewhere, prostitutes and their pimps encouraged a flourishing sex trade in parks and gardens. Park benches were a preferred locale for low-priced "quickies," not only in the city center, but also in the

[60] *PT*, 12 January 1914, 2.

[61] Egon Erwin Kisch, "Razzia," *Aus Prager Gassen und Nächten*, 2nd edn. (Prague: Verlag von A. Haase, 1912), 65–70.

rapidly growing industrial suburbs.[62] Commercial sexual relations were conducted in green spaces, like Laibach's Tivoli (Illustration 5.2), the large park on the edge of town so appreciated by bourgeois residents during the day, but populated by a different segment of the population at night; ill-lit streets and seldom-traveled alleys, run-down taverns, wine bars, and other nightspots. The situation was complicated by other residents who complained about women on the street at night without their husbands, or whose behavior strayed outside of the still narrow bounds of bourgeois respectability, but who were not committing criminal offences.

CLANDESTINE PROSTITUTION IN KARLSBAD

Prostitutes appeared in Karlsbad and other spa towns during the season when the population burgeoned with visitors and tourists. They plied their trade with the men who came to take any number of treatments offered at these luxurious spas. Concerns about public health, public morals, and economics in their city were reflected in the anonymous and signed letters from Karlsbad residents denouncing the clandestine prostitutes who visited the city and the illegal brothels that opened there during the season.[63] The possible economic drawbacks unregulated prostitutes might pose in a city so dependent on tourism, including what is now called "sex tourism," also played a role in residents' complaints. Some Karlsbad residents were worried that in this fin-de-siècle form of sex tourism, a male visitor might come to their city to take off ten kilos, but return home with venereal disease.

As a complaint sent to the Karlsbad city council in the summer of 1908 read:

> On August 10, Minister President [Georges] will be taking rooms on Hirschsprungzeile. We should take care that his friends don't tell this eminent guest at the Karlsbad spas that he shouldn't stay there because prostitutes are working out of some of the houses on the street.[64]

Many of the property owners on the narrow, steep, and picturesque street just below the famous landmark *Hirschsprung* (stag leap) signed the complaint. They singled out Haus Ludwigsburg as a site of sexual depravity, one that was home to women of ill repute who practiced their trade with such "admirable zeal" that they caused a public nuisance. The men who sought them out sometimes wandered into the wrong house by mistake, thus upsetting the spa guests, especially female visitors. And, the neighbors observed, the problem of clandestine prostitution was getting worse every year. They thus demanded that the city put a stop to the

[62] Radim Kopáč and Josef Schwarz, *Nevěstince a nevěstky: obrázky z erotického života Pražanů* (Prague: Paseka, 2013); irregularly paginated; see sections on Nové Město and Žižkov, Karlín, and Vinohrady.

[63] SOkAKV, AMKV, Spisy, B-XIV-188, Box 1, File: Evidence prostitutka 1914–1922.

[64] SOkAKV, AMKV, Spisy, B-XIV-188, Box 1, Mravnostní policie – 1915, correspondence from 1908.

"mismanagement" of Haus Ludwigsburg, that is, its illegal use as a brothel by the women of ill repute who inundated Karlsbad during the season. Their appeal was in the public interest, the residents claimed, because their own guesthouses would lose value if they could no longer let rooms to "decent, respectable" visitors. Should the city fail to resolve this problem once and for all, the property owners threatened they would take the issue to district officials.

In behavior that presaged the twentieth-century "Not in My Backyard" phenomenon, the majority of the regulated prostitutes who serviced Karlsbad's visitors resided in brothels located outside the city. In addition to those in Drahowitz, there were several brothels in Donitz, located on Karlsbad's western periphery, bordering the Eger River, near the central railroad station. Clandestine prostitutes practiced their trade on the other side of the river, in the run-down taverns and *Stundenhotels* of Fischern. Those moving between Karlsbad's upper and central railway stations used the bridge across the river, so it had plenty of non-local traffic. Even the green area around the unlighted bridge itself provided space for sexual commerce. Other sites of commercial sexual encounters included the nightclubs of Donitz, above all the Moulin Rouge, long suspect to police and other officials as a source of venereal disease. Karlsbad residents denounced these women, and those who enabled their immoral behavior, but the basis for their complaints was economic. They condemned clandestine prostitutes as a direct threat to their livelihoods. This was in contrast to the greater Austrian public's focus on the ill effect of clandestine and independent prostitutes and their pimps on local morals.

FROM REGULATED PROSTITUTE TO CLANDESTINE PROSTITUTE AND PIMP

After she unregistered with police, forty-five-year-old Karoline Navratil, who had long been a tolerated prostitute, managed to elude police notice over a two-year period as she pimped out the young women who rented beds in her small apartment in Vienna's Fourteenth District. Navratil was also guilty of other misdeeds. Beginning in 1913, she had committed crimes against nature (paragraph 129 Ia of the Austrian Criminal Law—sex with animals), transgressed public morals, or pandered (paragraph 512a), and been a gross and public nuisance violating morality or modesty (paragraph 516). Her case, which offers yet another example of how prostitutes made their livings after leaving brothels, is instructive about how vice police discovered illicit brothels and about the sex trade. It also reflects the expansion of cheap, easily available visual pornography among the working class around the turn of the century.[65]

[65] Lisa Z. Sigel, "Filth in the Wrong People's Hands: Postcards and the Expansion of Pornography in Britain and the Atlantic World, 1880–1914," *Journal of Social History* 33/4 (Summer 2000): 859–85.

The Prague-born Navratil, who had been under police supervision from the 1880s to 1905, was by November 1915 a laundress. Together with her little black dog, she occupied a small apartment. In addition to her income from doing laundry, she earned money by encouraging the young women who rented the bed in her apartment to have sexual relations with men they solicited or she found. Her makeshift brothel came to light when two young women, Aloisia Krammer and Leopoldine Böhm, who lived at Navratil's, were arrested for streetwalking in early August 1915. When questioned, Krammer, a twenty-two-year-old laborer, claimed that she and Böhm, with whom she shared a bed, had been forced to "satisfy" the men Navritil brought in off the street. This had started the very first night she—Krammer—had stayed there. She alleged that Navratil often stood in the doorway attempting to entice men into the apartment. The building caretaker was well aware of the goings-on, she asserted; indeed, he often brought in potential clients at night so he could get tips. In a narrative similar to some of those heard from other prostitutes, Krammer claimed that as a result of the large sum she paid for room and board, she had been unable "to get free" of Navratil, with whom she had lived since the previous May, until 2 August, when a man gave her twenty crowns (the reason was unspecified; presumably sex). She left that very day with her bedmate, who had been at Navratil's since the previous September. When Krammer returned the following day to pick up her ration card, she reported there was already another girl on the divan having sexual relations with a man. According to Krammer, other young women also paid Navratil to use her home for commercial sexual relations. Moreover, the apparently shocked witness claimed, Navratil owned some twelve pictures of people engaging in sex in various positions. The accused encouraged the young women who rented her beds to learn and practice these positions so they could "earn lots of money."

The case produced contradictory narratives. In her often lurid testimony, Krammer described the panoply of sexual behaviors that took place in the small apartment. She claimed that Navratil not only shared her bed with her dog, but also permitted it to lick her genitals. Indeed, Navratil, who herself often had sexual relations with men, offered them the possibility of licking her genitals, too. Other accusations against Navratil included that she appeared naked in the bedroom to entice the male clients to have sex, that she showed them the obscene pictures, and that she rubbed her dog's penis. While Navratil admitted to permitting her apartment to be used for sexual commerce in order to provide an ongoing income—although "not often" because the apartment was so small—she rejected accusations of hiding naked in the adjacent room and having sexual relations with her dog.

The building caretaker and his wife testified in Navratil's defense. They claimed that they had never noticed anything untoward in the seven years Navratil had been resident, that it was to be expected that men would come to her apartment because Navratil was a laundress. Moreover, she had been ill, so it was no surprise she had a girl living there to help her, since her husband was in the military. Despite this testimony, the prosecutor considered the young women's testimony reliable, and he considered it corroborated by a man whose apartment faced Navratil's, who claimed to have seen Navratil feeding her dog well (during wartime), using terms of endearment with it, and treating it "tenderly."

Found guilty, Navratil was sentenced to three months' hard labor, with one fast day per month.[66] There is no indication of the dog's fate.

The Navratil case provides numerous insights into clandestine prostitution. It demonstrates the inability of the authorities during both peace and wartime to monitor a case of clandestine prostitution, one in which a particular woman, Navratil, apparently unafraid of being arrested by the vice police, allegedly stood in the doorway to attract clients. It permits a glimpse into the post-brothel life of a long-time regulated prostitute. Navratil's description of her small apartment reflects the relative poverty of a laundress, even with the extra money she earned by encouraging her boarders to engage in commercial sex, a trade she knew well. Unresolved, because it appears to have been unraised, remains the role of Navratil's husband in her commercial sex undertaking before his mobilization. Krammer's identification as a "laborer" does not indicate if she was employed at the time, but going into debt over room and board reflects a debtor's relationship, one paid for by commercial sexual transactions.

CHEAP ALCOHOL AND COMMERCIAL SEX

Clandestine prostitution was a particular concern in Austria's rapidly expanding industrial districts, like the coal-mining regions of northern Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. It was not limited to towns and cities, but had spread to surrounding villages where the thousands of workers employed in the coal fields and other industrial undertakings lived. Smaller municipalities with a single large factory nearby, which attracted young women to low-paying jobs, were also significant sites of clandestine prostitution. In some larger industrial cities, officials and police called for women who were merely suspected of practicing prostitution—for example, female employees at amusement arcades and inns—to be placed under police-medical supervision. Elsewhere, waitresses and servants who were thought to be moonlighting as prostitutes were obliged to undergo bi-weekly medical examinations.[67]

Mährisch Ostrau was among the Monarchy's industrial cities closely associated with clandestine prostitution. In addition to walking the streets, clandestine prostitutes worked in urban courtyards, in the hallways of apartment buildings, and on the slagheaps of this heavy-industrial city.[68] After the turn of the century, city officials repeatedly sought to resolve the problem these women posed. They operated in public places, above all as waitresses in local inns. Attempting to prevent "drunkenness and fornication," the city council sought to control the behavior of the immoral and "unhealthy," that is, infected with venereal disease,

[66] WStLA, LfS A11, Vr 4647, 1915, Anklageschrift, 11 Nov. 1915. All of the information on the case comes from this file.

[67] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 31633/07, k.k. Hofrat in Pilsen to the k.k. Statthalterei in Prague, 1 February 1907; 4548/07, k.k. Bezirkshauptmann in Komotau to k.k. Statthalterei, 17 January 1907.

[68] Milan Myška, *Kněžky Venušiny aneb z historie prostituce v průmyslovém velkoměstě* (Ostrava: Repronis, 2006), 29.

female staff in some inns. These women's behavior was to have been expected, because if the city physician was correct, many of them had earlier been registered with police. Having become infected with venereal disease, and fearing hospitalization as a result, they left their brothels and turned to working in disreputable inns. Differing (and sometimes contradictory) local and provincial governmental, district administrative, and Imperial Trade Ministry responses to the presence of clandestine prostitutes in local inns reveal both how much a part of the local economy these women were, and the increasing professionalization of the nascent "hospitality" industry.

In the summer of 1908, Mährisch Ostrau's newspapers brought the "immoral" situation in some local inns to the attention of the public. A 15 August article in the city's working-class newspaper, *Ostravský děník*, headlined "Z Ostravského bahna" (From the muck of Ostrau) shrieked that "Every second pub in Mährish Ostrau is really a brothel."[69] Exposés from that summer, confirmed by a contemporary police report, described the working-class bars and inns of Grosse Gasse, which bisected the city. Police investigations focused on the concession for the building at No. 58, which had passed through several hands, and on a number of waitresses who worked in the establishments there and elsewhere along the street. Acting as *Animiermädchen*, the women sought to encourage the male patrons to drink because this offered them the opportunity to profit from their "immoral activities." Several other inn owners on the street subleased the backs of their buildings to men and women, many of bad reputation ("the son of one was a notorious criminal, while another had been convicted of theft."). These back-alley taverns employed female waitresses, almost all of whom were alleged to make their living as clandestine prostitutes and either currently had, or had once had, syphilis.

Josef Madaj operated "Unter den Lauben," an inn located on the ground floor of No. 58. Newspapers reported the innkeeper could not, or would not, keep order. Thus, his working-class establishment was the site of mayhem, noise, theft, and other irregularities. One of the women he employed, Marie Matloch, formerly a prostitute, now a "waitress" (inverted commas the newspaper's), had together with her two sons and her two pimps been accused of theft. They had allegedly gotten a man so drunk that he lost consciousness, after which they robbed him of 180 crowns and several pieces of jewelry. The jewelry was later found in Matloch's possession. She claimed that her various lovers had given it to her. The case had been brought to the district court. A police report asserted that were this woman to be examined, she would certainly be found to have syphilis. Indeed, the police physician checked all of the waitresses who were employed at this dive. He described them as in "urgent need of hospital treatment." They were then registered, and to be examined weekly by the vice police physician.[70]

[69] The assertion about the pubs, many of them run by Galician Jews, and the newspaper citation are from Myška, *Kněžky Venušiny*, 24–5.

[70] Archiv města Ostravy (hereafter AMO), Okresní úřad MO, Box 160, Sig. Ga 40, inv. Č. 143, ZL: 18008/08, 31 July 1908; and "Ostrauer-Verbrecherspelunken," no name [*Ostrauer Zeitung*?], n.d.; and "Der Einbrecher-Kellner bei Madaj," [Ostrauer?] *Tagblatt*, 2 July 1907, in AMO, Okresní úřad MO; "Sittenbilder aus einer Ostrauer Spelunke," *Neue Schlesische Zeitung,* 21 July 1908, 1–2.

Mährisch Ostrau's mayor, seeking a decree from the district prefecture placing limitations on these establishments, reported that the police had been told to put the women employed there under strict supervision and report any future incidents. Among the measures he suggested was the employment of paragraph 4 of the 24 May 1885 law, which obliged able-bodied persons to take up "appropriate work." The mayor thought, however, that even this measure was probably insufficient. As had occurred earlier in Prague and elsewhere, he also suggested calling on the Trade Authority to ban female personnel entirely from some inns and limit their numbers in others.

City records and subsequent police inspections confirmed that many of the waitresses employed at these premises had earlier been prostitutes, and fearing hospitalization when they became infected with venereal disease, had taken up waitressing "during the time of their infection." It is no surprise that a new trade ordinance decreed that employing a prostitute as a waitress would be sufficient for an inn to be banned from using female waitresses altogether.[71] A police inspection of local inns that December exposed a number of women previously registered as prostitutes, some of whom were known to have venereal disease, serving guests. Others, according to the mayor, had never registered with the police, but were probably prostitutes, not simply poor women working in an "immoral" environment.[72]

Local and provincial representatives of the Verband Deutscher Genossenschaften Gast- und Schanklokale (Association of German guest and licensed premises businesses), the professional organization representing German-owned inns and drink concessions, joined residents in complaining to Mährisch Ostrau officials about the illegal sale of alcohol by grocers. They alleged that the grocers had "women on hand" for illicit sex. It was here, organization representatives claimed, in locations that police did not supervise, that "drunkenness and immorality" flourished. Workers packed such places, where the harmonica was played and prostitutes gathered. Association members wanted to put an end to "immoral and unprofessional" practices, which they believed compromised their professional standing. The organization, however, opposed one police solution to the problem: a February 1909 proposal to institute earlier closing hours for taverns and inns in Ostrau and surrounding areas.

In July 1910, the Moravian provincial governor's office informed the Mährisch Ostrau gendarmerie of plans to limit female employment in some hospitality and drinks concerns in order to prevent the spread of clandestine prostitution. The proposal would ban most female employees who served guests in those soda water and non-alcoholic drink concessions connected with inns that had repeatedly and in "notorious" ways violated rules related to their operation. Of particular interest to officials as possible sites of commercial sex were wine bars, especially those with an extra room, as there had been in nineteenth-century Prague, and drink

[71] AMO, Okresní úřad MO, Box 160, Sig. Ga 40, inv. č. 143, Bürgermeister to the k.k. Bezirkshauptmannschaft in MO, 12 September and 13 November 1908.

[72] AMO, Okresní úřad MO, Box 160, Sig. Ga 40, inv. č. 143, Bürgermeister to the k.k. Bezirkshauptmannschaft in MO, 1 February 1909.

concessions, which fell under the purview of the trade-police control.[73] Indeed, the Moravian government instituted a curfew for the taverns and inns of Mährisch Ostrau and surrounding communities in February 1912, because some female employees continued to do more than serve alcohol and encourage male customers to drink. They also "behaved immorally," engaging in commercial sexual relations in rooms adjacent to the taverns.

Administrative and police concerns about the links among inns, alcohol, and taverns on the one hand, and clandestine prostitution on the other were not limited to Mährisch Ostrau. Local and district authorities, elected and appointed, sometimes had different attitudes and priorities that could make it difficult to regulate prostitutes and limit clandestine prostitution in taverns and inns. Twelve months' correspondence beginning in spring 1913 concerning the small northern Bohemian town of Tetschen shows the tension that could arise over attempts to limit clandestine prostitution. As in Mährisch Ostrau, the professionalizing drink trade played a role. Tetschen's *Bezirkshauptmann* (district captain) Wilhelm Barvitius informed eight inn owners—one of which was the municipality itself—that they could no longer employ female staff on their premises owing to the poor moral and hygienic conditions prevailing there. Barvitius asserted that in addition to their other duties, the waitresses at these establishments serviced clients sexually. He claimed the premises were being directly or indirectly misused for immoral purposes. Barvitius in addition instructed the owners not to permit any women who were not of "absolutely flawless moral character" to frequent their establishments. If they continued to violate trade regulations, tavern owners risked rebukes, written warnings, stiff fines, jail sentences, or even the closing down of their operations. At the same time, Barvitius sent a letter to city hall requesting support in his battle, suggesting that the municipality task local vice police with the suppression of clandestine prostitution.[74]

The mayor's office wrote to the provincial government in Prague, explaining that in Tetschen, as in other cities, there were a number of guesthouses from which prostitutes worked. The guesthouses had thus far caused no difficulty from either a commercial-regulatory or a morals and health-police standpoint. It appears from the mayor's perspective that this trade did not encourage "immorality." Surely, the mayor wrote, the trade industry wanted to close only those establishments where uncontrolled, clandestine prostitution flourished. Moreover, if the industry authority had known of the existing conditions, that is, prostitutes living in taverns and inns, it had still permitted these establishments to receive or to retain their concessions. Finally, Tetschen officials expected their city to be treated as other cities, and the restrictions on some of its inns was causing damage to municipal financial coffers. The municipality and the district prefecture, he asserted, could have come to agreement on the situtation, but the latter rejected this at every

[73] See AMO, Okresní úřad MO, Box 160, Stadtvorstand MO, 12 Nov. 1908, inv. č. 143, Sig. Ga 40, and Sig Eb 44, k.k. Bezirkshauptmannschaft, 2 July 1910.

[74] SOkAD, AmD, k.k. Bezirkshauptmann Barvitius to eight people, 19 April 1913; and k.k. Bezirkshauptmann Barvitius to Bürgermeister-Gemeinde-Amt, 19 April 1913.

instance. In the end, the tavern owners' appeals were rejected at every level and they were forbidden to employ female staff.[75]

The examples of Mährisch Ostrau and Tetschen show differing responses to the presence of clandestine prostitutes in local inns. In Mährisch Ostrau leaders of the hospitality industry did not want clandestine prostitution associated with their business, while in Tetschen the innkeepers wanted to keep their female employees, some of whom appear to have been engaging in clandestine sexual commerce, in the face of what they considered the interference from regional and provincial authorities. The situations in the two cities demonstrate the fluidity of clandestine and regulated prostitution and the futility of regulating prostitution so long as all infected sex workers were not obliged to be hospitalized for treatment.

DENOUNCING CLANDESTINE PROSTITUTES

As Robert Gellately has explained, citizens played a role in the "modern surveillance societies" that developed during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[76] Austrians observed and informed the relevant authorities about a host of gendered moral deviations they witnessed, including streetwalking and other aspects of clandestine prostitution. Throughout the Monarchy, vice police encouraged this kind of denunciation by following up on verbal and written complaints about women, especially those who lived without a husband or father in the residence. Their neighbors and the alleged "victims" of diseased clandestine prostitutes brought them to the attention of police, sometimes anonymously, sometimes not. In addition to complaining about the women who walked the streets, letters described neighborhoods made less safe for children and families by women and girls who turned their lodgings into illicit brothels. These helpful residents often provided names, ages, and backgrounds of the women.[77] Others residents simply disparaged the numerous women who walked the streets of their neighborhoods at night. A number of their letters have been saved in the archives; so, too, have police responses. Some women were detained for clandestine prostitution in cases of denunciation that the police investigated, while in others they were not.

Throughout 1908, a provocateur, assumed to be male by the Viennese police and described as a "crank," sent a series of formulaic missives to government officials and other "highly placed" people, as well as to what the police deemed "inferior" journals. The person denounced as immoral a variety of behaviors and criticized the police for failing to protect members of the public who frequented the center city and Leopoldstadt from "prostitutes, waiters, cabbies, private detectives,

[75] SOkAD, AmD, Bürgermeister to k.k. Statthalterei in Prague, 29 April 1914.

[76] Robert Gellately, "Denunciation as a Subject of Historical Research," *Historical Social Research* 26/2–3 (2001): 16.

[77] Olmütz residents complained about one Josefine D., who lived in the building housing a Czech-language elementary school and whose behavior caused general annoyance on the street—male visitors flew "in and out like pigeons." SOkAO, Archiv města Olomouc (hereafter AM Olomouce), Registratura 1874–1920, Politická, inv. č. 53/10B, Box 117, Mehrere Nachbarsleute to Bürgermeisteramt der kön. Hauptstadt Olmütz.

and watchmen." In July of that year, he accused three foreigners, women from France, Hungary, and Switzerland, ranging in age from twenty-six to forty-one years old, of engaging in clandestine prostitution and of pandering, but it is unknown how they came to his attention. Police did not immediately find evidence of wrongdoing on the part of these women—a language teacher, a widow, and a nurse—living in the First and neighboring Ninth Districts, but they continued to monitor them. At the same time, the police decided that a forty-five-year-old German mother of three whom the unknown man had also denounced was, indeed, a clandestine prostitute. After detaining the woman for five days, they delivered her to the provincial court for sentencing. That the letter-writer was a "crank" had not deterred police from following up his accusations.[78]

In May 1913, police reported that there had been complaints about regulated prostitutes on Untere Weissgärberstrasse and elsewhere in Vienna's Third District walking the streets in search of clients too early in the evening. As a result of one complaint a tolerated prostitute living at Untere Weissgärberstrasse 32 had been forbidden to sit in her window. Police might initially have thought that the anonymous complaint in January 1914 from twenty-three-year-old Rosa N.'s neighbors at nearby Untere Weissgärberstrasse 37 reflected their growing impatience with prostitutes' continuing moral and hygienic violations. The unnamed neighbors explained that although Rosa N. presented herself as a "decent" woman, as many clandestine prostitutes did, in reality she searched day and night for male clients, whom she welcomed into her room "at all hours." Although she was neither registered with the police nor had she been to a (police) physician, she was a prostitute, they claimed. Proof of this allegation, the neighbors wrote, was the male visitor to their building on 15 January. Standing in the hallway before Rosa N.'s door, the man had demanded her name because she had made him sick (infecting him with venereal disease), and he wanted to report her to police. Thus, they, the residents, were requesting that the police move this "honest woman" to another neighborhood where she could practice her trade and they would no longer "be harassed by the harlot." Rosa N., however, told a different story to the police who interviewed her. The denunciation, she claimed, came not from the neighbors, but rather from one individual. She asserted that a male neighbor whose advances she had rejected wrote the anonymous letter of complaint in revenge. The police apparently accepted her explanation, because after investigating, they took no action.[79]

Denunciations sometimes resulted in women's arrests for clandestine prostitution. As often, they simply wasted the time of the already stretched urban police, who monitored or interviewed these women only to report that they, like Rosa N., had violated no law.

[78] NÖLA, NÖ Statthalterei, 1908, 204a, Reg. Z XIV, correspondence from 14 July, 29 July, 26 August, and 5 November 1908.

[79] LPDW, PM, 1914/2, Höhe Polizei-Direktion, 16 January 1914; and 24 January 1914, Relation, 24 January 1914.

PROSTITUTE MURDER IN THE IMPERIAL CAPITAL

Not only brothels, but also individual prostitutes' lodgings, even hotel rooms, were sometimes sites of violence against sex workers. At least one journalist noted that prostitute murder was relatively uncommon, but the offenders for the most part remained unknown unless they were discovered through an "accident of justice."[80] It was less likely that there would be witnesses to the murder of an independent or clandestine prostitute in her own room than a murder in a bordello. Three of the victims analyzed below were under police supervision at the time of their deaths, but the environments in which the first two victims operated were far more similar to those of clandestine prostitutes than brothel ones. It is unclear whether the fourth woman, who was killed in Prague, was registered or not. While any murder tended to attract the attention of the Monarchy's tabloid press, a prostitute's murder offered the voyeur an opportunity to read tales—many illustrated—of the prostitute milieu and the dangers of night in the big city, even if the denouement to the story became public much later or not at all. Although a murder may not always offer "the rare opportunity to trace the life history of a prostitute," as Stefan Slater has written, it does offer the possibility of learning something about the victim.[81]

In May 1908, newspapers across Austria reported the death of the twenty-four-year-old independent prostitute Rosa Goldstein in Leopoldstadt.[82] Although journalists and police construed her in stereotypical terms as "the kind of girl who walked Taborstrasse [a major thoroughfare in the Second District] and other streets in the neighborhood," her acquaintances described the Hungarian-born Goldstein as "very quiet" and "relatively decent," but also temperamental. She had just moved into a shabby room on the second floor of a derelict building at 20 Tandelmarktgasse, off Taborstrasse, with other women who were under police supervision. The *Arbeiter-Zeitung* reporters described her building as one "long awaiting demolition," with conditions "characteristic" of those where "such" women lived. It had no gas lighting, for example, but only lanterns, as if it were from another era (Illustration 5.3).

Another prostitute living in the building discovered the murder. Seeking matches, she had tried Goldstein's door early in the evening, but got no answer. The woman eventually became suspicious because the light in Goldstein's room continued burning through the night. She finally entered the room and found Goldstein's body about three o'clock on Sunday morning. Her screams brought others to the room. The dead woman was lying on the divan. Goldstein had been strangled about two hours earlier.

About five o'clock that same morning, a pale, shaking young man turned himself in to the nearby police watch. The watchman recognized seventeen-year-old,

[80] See *IKZ*, 1 July 1913, 6, for discussion of unsolved prostitute murders from 1898 and 1911, as well as analysis of the Goldstein case, discussed below.

[81] Stefan Slater, "Prostitutes and Popular History: Notes on the 'Underworld', 1918–1939," *Crime, Historie, & Sociétés/Crime, History & Societies* 13/1 (2009): 26.

[82] For example, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 13 May 1908, 2; and *PT*, 12 May 1908, 14.

Illustration 5.3. Both clandestine and independent prostitutes frequented Taborstrasse in Leopoldstadt (ÖNB/Vienna).

Galician-born Josef Karczmarczyk from the description of the murderer that had already gone out. Karczmarczyk immediately admitted to murdering Goldstein, saying they had fought over the six crowns he was meant to pay her for sex. After interviewing other witnesses, and learning Karczmarczyk was spending more than his meager salary of sixteen crowns a week, police decided they were dealing with a robbery-murder, particularly after being told that the victim had a small amount of money on her. The suspect was known to be violent; he had spent two months in jail earlier that year after being found guilty of menacing and threatening behavior. Karczmarczyk, who had caroused in the Prater and elsewhere in Leopoldstadt, had already had sexual relations with another prostitute on the night of the murder. Police working the case interviewed some prostitutes in the neighborhood and learned that he had also propositioned a second woman, but when she demanded money in advance, the two had an altercation. This prostitute, Anna F., who was described as a "strongly built" woman who "put up a good fight," hit Karczmarczyk twice in the face with her keys. As Karczmarczyk left her, he threatened that he was going "to kill someone today."[83] And so he had.

Although Karczmarczyk was tried and sentenced to two-and-one-half years' hard labor the following December, the reporting on this episode of working-class crime

[83] *A-Z*, 11 May 1908, 4–5; *DNZ*, 19 May 1908, 8; and *Wiener Abendpost*, 11 May 1908, 5.

leaves questions unanswered, including whether the sentence was so light because the victim was a prostitute or because the perpetrator was so young.[84] We know how Goldstein was murdered, but not the motive. Was it, per Anna F., because the violent Karczmarczyk was determined "to kill someone" that evening? Or was it an argument over the price of sex as the suspect claimed; for the "small amount of money" on her; or a combination of motives? Goldstein, a woman living on her own, who made her living from strangers in the privacy of her own room, was clearly an easy target.

On 13 May 1910, headlines in the Viennese boulevard press screamed of the robbery-murder of another Leopoldstadt prostitute: the twenty-nine-year-old, Bavarian-born Leopoldine Piller, whom other prostitutes described as having "magnificent blonde" hair. Someone had strangled her in the shabbily furnished rooms she sublet in the back of the house at Rueppgasse 18, a short street about midway between the Augarten and the Praterstern. Piller and an unknown "boy" had entered her room about half past midnight on the morning of 12 May. She was found dead some thirty minutes later. Soon afterward, it became clear that she had been robbed. Piller lost a paltry pair of earrings, rings set with fake diamonds, and a few crowns. Her last client, described as about twenty-one years old, looking like a "worker," with a weak build, a yellowish complexion, and dark-haired and beardless, fell under suspicion. His clothing marked the man as someone from the prostitute's "own milieu."

On the night Piller was murdered, the landlady's servant, Marie Raubenkolb, was staying in her apartment. When Raubenkolb saw Piller enter her digs with a client, she had gone to wait in the small room off the kitchen, where she had nodded off. Raubenkolb reported that she awakened after about fifteen minutes to find the suspect standing over her. He told Raubenkolb that Piller wanted her to go to the nearby kiosk for cigarettes. When Raubenkolb replied it was closed, he demanded she go to the café for them. Because she believed he was behaving suspiciously, she refused. The man turned on his heel and left the room, closing the door behind him. Only then did it occur to Raubenkolb to check Piller's room. She discovered the body, then ran to tell the building's caretaker that Piller was dead. The client had disappeared. He had apparently jumped out the window.[85]

Piller's landlady, who had written Piller's family in Germany of her death, received an immediate reply from the dead woman's sister. Piller's family had not heard from her in a long time, and had no idea she had been registered with police. Assuming she had died from illness rather than violence, they requested information about the disease that had killed her. Finally, they wondered if she had a child.[86] Piller's case had attracted enough notoriety that a rowdy crowd of several hundred gathered to watch as her body was moved from the mortuary for burial in Vienna's Zentralfriedhof following her funeral (Illustration 5.4).[87] There Piller's story ends.

Summoned and told of the events, the police immediately sent the man's description to their guardhouses, offered a five-hundred-crown reward for

[84] *IKZ*, 19 December 1908, 3–5. [85] *DNZ*, 13 May 1910, 3–4.
[86] *DNZ*, 14 May 1910, 3; and 15 May 1910, 4. [87] *IKZ*, 18 May 1910, 5.

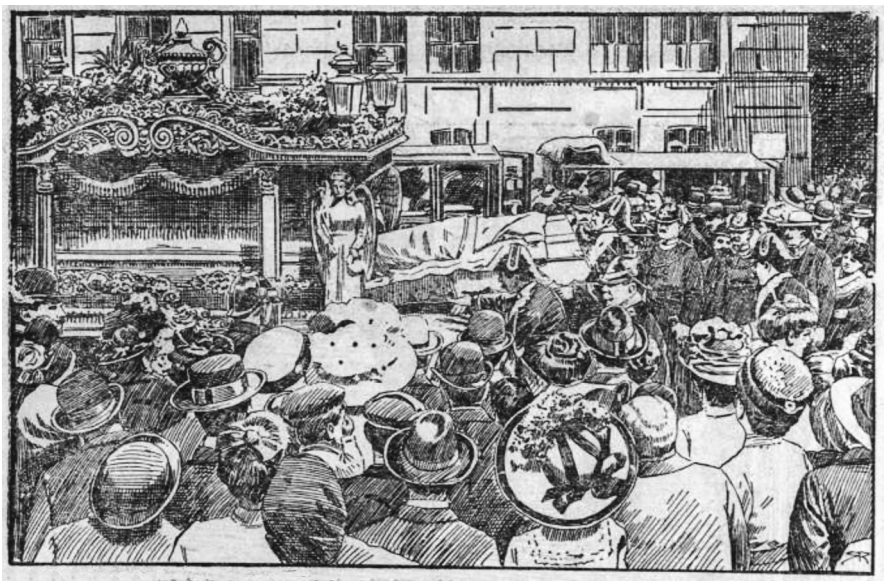


Illustration 5.4. "Crowd gathered at Leopoldine Piller's funeral," from *Illustrierte Kronen Zeitung*, 18 May 1910, p. 5 (ÖNB/Vienna).

information leading to his arrest, and began searching Leopoldstadt's nightspots. The following day they sent a description of the stolen goods to jewelers and pawnshops. Indeed, early in the morning of the murder, before the shops had opened, a young man fitting the description of the alleged murderer had gone to the home of a junk dealer seeking to sell the jewelry, only to discover it was worthless.

The murderer, Gustav Allram, was soon found. He had been stopped on the street at two o'clock in the morning because the policeman thought he looked suspicious. Trained as a butcher, the Viennese-born twenty-one-year-old was among the many homeless and unemployed young men who fit the murderer's description that the police stopped overnight. Allram came from a "good" family, but according to his father, also a butcher, his son had long not been permitted to enter the family home.[88] Although neither the Rueppstrasse residents nor the junk dealer recognized him, the maid to whom Allram sold one of Piller's rings did. Finally, Allram admitted the murder, which he said he committed after Piller demanded money from him. Informing her that he did not have a cent, Allram "senselessly and impetuously killed her," according to newspaper accounts. Allram, who had twice previously been in psychiatric care, was returned there. He was tried for murder in late November, found guilty, and initially sentenced to death by hanging. His attorney appealed, the Emperor granted him clemency, and he was resentenced to twenty years' hard labor.[89]

[88] *A-Z*, 14 May 1910, 6.

[89] *IKZ*, 20 November 1910, 26; and 24 March 1911, 12.

In still another case of prostitute murder, of a woman who lived in far better circumstances than the other two victims, the Viennese police offered a 1,000-crown reward for the capture of the man who killed twenty-nine-year-old Marie Schmidt, and stole the expensive brooch she was wearing, in the early morning hours of 29 June 1913. Schmidt, who worked Kärtner Strasse in the First District and the Ringstrasse, which encircled it, spent the last evening of her life at the well-known Café de l'Europe on Stefansplatz. She was thought to have met her killer nearby. The two had then gone to Hotel zum Römischen Kaiser, where he strangled her.[90]

Schmidt, who hailed from a "good" family in eastern Galicia, had led a different life than Goldstein or Piller. She had left home early, and during a period of unemployment almost a decade earlier, had—against her mother's wishes—registered with police. Schmidt, who was subsequently in and out of police supervision, had once lived in Anna Letz's Seventh District establishment. She had reportedly been the lover of a "foreign prince" in Dresden and a hussar officer, who had given her 20,000 crowns when he left her to marry. Her most recent liaison had been with the son of a Viennese factory owner. Schmidt, who wanted to open her own brothel, had been financially successful in the last few years. In fact, she made more money than her brother, a low-level official in Vienna. While searching her beautifully appointed apartment in the Wieden neighborhood for clues to her murder, police discovered that Schmidt had left behind 460 crowns in a drawer and a bank account containing 33,300 crowns. They also described some of her belongings, including "the finest linens, most trimmed with fine lace."

Her friends speculated that Schmidt's desire to increase her income had resulted in her being less careful with her clientele, resulting in her murder. The case had initially gone cold because the witnesses could provide only a vague description of the alleged attacker, whom they said had a Reich-German accent, was wearing patent leather shoes, and appeared to come from the bourgeoisie.

The case soon died down, but heated up again in mid-February 1914 when Prague police arrested a man for theft. The twenty-three-year-old, who identified himself first as Werner Kantner, then as Josef Pokorny, before finally settling on Leopold Sochor, said he had come to Prague around the New Year. Since that time, wearing the uniform of a train conductor, "Sochor," who claimed to be from Vienna, had robbed prostitutes and hotel guests in and around Prague. One local prostitute whom police questioned in the case mentioned that "Sochor" sometimes wore patent leather shoes, which the Prague police connected with the Schmidt murder. When his fingerprints were taken, one was identical to a print found at the scene of the murder of Anna Mühr, who was described as a "soldier's whore." Mühr, who was not identified as being under police supervision, had been robbed and murdered in her room off the tavern where she worked as a waitress in Prague's Josefov in mid-January. The murder had been staged to look like a suicide, complete with a Czech-language note. Because she was known to be saving

[90] *IKZ*, 1 July 1913, 5–8; and *DNZ*, 30 June 1913, 2; and 1 July 1913, 3. Some of the background information is contradictory.

money for her planned marriage to a brewer's assistant, however, her empty wallet suggested robbery. "Sochor," whom witnesses said kept company with prostitutes, and whose fingerprints were found at Mühr's lodgings, admitted both murders.

The Viennese police official working on the Schmidt case went post-haste to Prague to question Sochor about the woman's death, and soon found discrepancies in his story. Thus newspapers that had proclaimed on 13 February that police had found Schmidt's murderer quickly reversed course and the following day announced that he was still on the loose. Prague police soon identified Sochor as Josef Lodinski, a deserter from nearby Kuttenberg who had been drafted in 1912. During his service he had been charged with a series of minor crimes and imprisoned several times. At the time of Schmidt's murder, Sochor/Lodinski had been incarcerated in the Theresienstadt fortress, which he escaped by jumping into the Eger River on 23 December 1913. Sochor/Lodinski told police that he had heard about the Schmidt murder in a Prague nightclub, explaining that he confessed to killing her because he hoped to escape while being transported to Vienna. Sochor/Lodinski, described as "smiling scornfully" when questioned, then requested that his mental health be examined. He was returned to Theresienstadt. Her killer not found, Schmidt's story again disappeared from the pages of the newspapers, and Mühr's died away soon afterward.[91]

Much of the language of reporting on the murders distanced the dead women and their killers from the predominantly bourgeois readership, but the reports provide information, sometimes contradictory, about them and the environments in which they lived. Rosa Goldstein apparently had savings, and Prague's Anna Mühr was hardly thoughtless: she was putting aside money to get married. In addition to Marie Schmidt, who made a good living from commercial sex, police assumed two of the other women were victims of robbery-homicides, underscoring the danger prostitutes faced from the unknown men they picked up on the streets, and why both independent and clandestine prostitutes might have pimps to "protect" them. The three killers all exhibited antisocial characteristics: Allram had psychological problems, Karczmarczyk was violent, and Lodinski was a deserter and a thief. It is unclear, however, why Allram, in his early twenties, was initially sentenced to death, while the teenaged Karczmarczyk was given a far lighter sentence, unless it was because of his youth.

The newspapers also describe the efforts the modernizing police force made to solve these crimes. The police employed fingerprint analysis; they offered rewards for information; they sought out and questioned prostitute witnesses who, as journalists explained, were hardly enthusiastic about speaking to them. In Schmidt's case, the inspector in charge sped to another province to question a suspect.

[91] News of the arrest was widely reported in both Prague's Czech- and German-language newspapers, in the Viennese and even in the Budapest press. My information comes from *Dělnické listy*, 13 February 1914, 4–5; *Deutsches Volksblatt*, 14 February 1914, 8; *DNZ*, 13 February 1914, 3–4; and 14 February 1914, 4; *Pester Lloyd* (evening edn.), 13 February 1914, 3; and *PT*, 12 February 1914, 17–18, and 13 February 1914, 4.

CONCLUSION

Clandestine prostitutes constituted the greatest number of women engaging in commercial sex in urbanizing Austria, but the number of women arrested for clandestine prostitution in late imperial Austria—and their treatment—varied over time and place, owing in part to the enthusiasm of the vice police for forcing these women into regulation, and thus, surveillance. Police were more likely to release with a stern warning the possibly "redeemable" young women who still lived with at least one responsible parent than those living on their own, or who had had previous arrests. The latter were placed under varying regimes of vice police surveillance: they were jailed, sent to reform institutions, or expelled. Local residents, concerned about morals and livability of their neighborhoods, pointed out women they believed posed a moral or hygienic threat to the greater society. In their role as moral vigilantes, they might also denounce a woman who was not a clandestine prostitute at all but whose behavior or family relations were different than theirs, a reflection of changing morals at the fin de siècle. Some of those denounced were women living on their own, who, by virtue of living without a man, became the subject of conjecture, or women living with men outside of marriage. It is still unclear how many of the women whose names can be found in public hospital records as having been treated for venereal disease participated in behavior that could have been classified as commercial sex. The traces that they have left are mainly of disease. Those women who were never accused, or never caught, accepting remuneration for sex remain outside the historic record.

While some members of the public, encouraged by the tabloid press, considered clandestine prostitutes part of a dangerous criminal underworld, they were in fact part of the larger working class. Although they often had more independence than other women, those who engaged in commercial sex, especially prostitutes who lived alone and had no protection in numbers, faced violence at the hands of panderers, pimps, and their male customers.

6

The Trafficking Panic in Late Imperial Austria

Now Anne of Austria shared their drinks,
Collinga knew her fame,
From Tarnau in Galicia
To Juan Bazaar she came,
To eat the bread of infamy
And take the wage of shame.

Rudyard Kipling, "The Ballad of Fisher's Boarding House" (1888)

The specter of *Mädchenhandel* raised at the Riehl trial captured the public imagination in late imperial Austria. Few forms of socially deviant behavior received so much attention in the sexually saturated fin de siècle as white slave trafficking, with its narrative of the innocent girl taken abroad against her will. The white slavers—male and female—and the naïve girls they allegedly trafficked to foreign brothels aroused great public interest and indignation in turn-of-the-century Austria, in part because their numbers were thought to be so great and the problem was so widely publicized. East European Jews, many from Bukovina and Galicia, were associated with global trafficking, largely because they were businessmen, moved across international borders, often spoke several languages, and came from communities spread throughout Central and Eastern Europe. Indeed, shortly after the turn of the twentieth century, Swiss eugenicist, sexologist, and racist Auguste Forel provided an explanation for Jewish involvement in both prostitution and trafficking: Jews had, he claimed, both strong commercial and strong sex drives.[1]

The Austrian government's response to the panic was domestic and international. Austrian representatives attended international trafficking congresses and signed the 1904 International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, which came into force on 18 July 1905. In accordance with its provisions, the Ministry of Interior issued a decree calling for the centralization of police activities connected with trafficking in the Viennese Police Directorate as the *Zentralstelle zur Überwachung des Mädchenhandels*. The Police Directorate issued its own decree in August 1905 delineating the sphere of activity of the central office. In addition to coordinating with local and provincial police, officials in the central office would

[1] Auguste Forel, *Die sexuelle Frage* (Munich: Ernst Reinhardt, 1907), 203.

serve as mediators with foreign officials. The Police Directorate was expected to coordinate and support local officials in the battle against trafficking in women, including identifying white slavers and their accomplices, as well as providing the names of any trafficked women who were to be returned to their homes. With this mission in mind, the Police Directorate planned to establish a register of procurers and their accomplices and to print pamphlets along the lines of already existing criminal albums that would contain personal data, criminal records, and, if possible, pictures of the individuals in question.

This chapter explores a variety of issues central to the turn-of-the-century Austrian panic over trafficking. They include anti-Semitism, Jews as protagonists and victims, and mass migration in an urbanizing world, as well as why particular Austrian cities were associated with the trade in women. I also analyze the government's domestic and international efforts to combat trafficking, and the role of bourgeois reform organizations in these efforts. From my perspective, the Austrian government, and to some extent bourgeois society through the aid agencies, may well have helped increase this panic through its warnings, police work, and diplomatic correspondence. Moreover, the state's anxiety about migration in general and the anti-Semitic press's obsession with alleged Jewish participation added to it.

Finally, and most importantly, in order to sketch a more nuanced picture of turn-of-the-century "white slaving," I explore the relationship between the trafficker and the trafficked, arguing that these girls and young women were not simply victims, but sometimes willing participants, or something in between. I employ the term "trafficker" to reflect the way my sources (the state, journalists, reform groups) viewed the issue, but not because it can be proved that the problem was as widespread as they claimed.

JEWS, TRAFFICKING, AND INTERNATIONAL PANIC

The "monstrous" trial held in Lemberg, a city of mixed German, Jewish, Polish, and Ruthenian population, in late October 1892 was a defining moment in the Austrian public's perception of "white slaving" as a predominantly Jewish trade, and it quickly became part of Austrian anti-Semitic rhetoric.[2] Twenty-seven defendants, seventeen men and ten women, all of them Galician Jews, were charged with transporting girls against their will to "houses of debauchery" in

[2] On the trial, see Alexander Berg, *Judenhyänen vor dem Strafgericht zu Lemberg: Ein bestätigender Nachtrag zu seiner Schrift, "Judenbordelle"* (Berlin: Dewald, 1893); and Keely Stauter-Halsted, "'A Generation of Monsters': Jews, Prostitution, and Racial Purity in the 1892 L'viv White Slavery Trial," *Austrian History Yearbook* 39 (2007): 25–35. Following Patrice Dabrowski and John-Paul Himka, I am employing the "nationally neutral" term Ruthenia. See Dabrowski, "Folk, Faith, and Fatherland," *Nationalities Papers* 28/3 (2000): 411, fn. 5; and Himka, who asserts that use of this term enables us "to make a distinction between the ethnic group as such and the alternative constructions of its nationality" (John-Paul Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine: The Greek Catholic Church and the Ruthenian National Movement in Galicia, 1867–1900* [Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999], 8).

Constantinople. Widely publicized in Galicia's and Bukovina's diverse Polish-language press, the trial was also covered in Vienna's explicitly anti-Semitic *Deutsches Volksblatt*, which consistently linked Jews to corruption, crime, perversion, and scandal.[3] The accused had allegedly scoured Galicia for decades, seeking "Christian" girls whom they transported by the hundreds to brothels and harems in the Middle East, Africa, and the Americas. (Jewish brothel owners abroad were rumored to demand from their representatives in Budapest, Cracow, Lemberg, and Warsaw that "the ware not be kosher."[4]) Found guilty, none of the defendants was sentenced to more than one year in prison, highlighting the lenient penalties in the Austrian Criminal Code for procuring and trafficking in women.

The trial became part of the Austrian parliamentary record the following 11 November, when Christian Social deputy Joseph Schlesinger introduced a question, signed by fourteen of his fellow party members, including party co-founder and future mayor of Vienna, Karl Lueger, requesting that the Minister President explain what was to be done about the "shameful outrages by the Jewish people of Austria." Schlesinger's query was prefaced with a pointed question about how one of the ministers would feel if his daughter "fell into the hands of such Jews." The president of the Reichsrat disciplined Schlesinger for violating public decency and insulting the ministers, but not for his question about the Jews. The entire "scandalous" text was discussed and reprinted, especially in Austria's anti-Semitic newspapers and other boulevard press.[5] There were subsequent anti-Semitic outbursts from Schlesinger in connection with trafficking at the 25 November session.[6] Diatribes such as Alexander Berg's 1892 *Judenhyänen vor dem Strafgericht zu Lemberg: Ein bestätigender Nachtrag zu seiner Schrift, "Judenbordelle"* (Jewish hyenas before Lemberg's criminal court: A confirming addendum to his book, Jewish brothels),[7] which tied prostitution and the international trade in girls with international Jewry by way of the case, furthered the notion of the close connection between Eastern European Jews and the trafficking of Eastern European girls.

Jewish organizations and anti-Semites in Austria focused on the preponderance of Eastern European Jews in "white slaving," both as traffickers and trafficked, but Gentiles were also involved in trafficking, and non-Jewish women were lured into prostitution or voluntarily turned to it. Moreover, Jews and Christians allegedly collaborated in moving these unfortunates, with the latter becoming engaged to domestic servants in Galicia. After earning these girls' trust by false promises of

[3] See for example comments about the "monstrous trial" in "Handel dziewczętami," *Gazeta Polska*, 20 October 1892, 3; and "sensational trial" in "Handlarze dziewcząt," *Kurjer Lwowski*, 20 October 1892, 3; also "Gerichtssaal," *Deutsches Volksblatt*, 21 October 1892, 5; and, for example, *Innsbrucker Nachrichten*, 3 November 1892, 4; and *Vorarlberger Volksblatt*, 4 November 1892, 1.

[4] "Der Mädchenjude," in J. Seidl, *Der Jude des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts oder warum sind wir antisemitisch?* (Graz: Verlags-Buchhandlung "Styria," 1899), 58.

[5] Alison Rose, *Jewish Women in Fin de Siècle Vienna* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008), 78. On the episode, see *Deutsches Volksblatt*, where it was front-page news on 13 November 1892; and *NFP*, evening edn., 11 November 1892, 2.

[6] *Das Vaterland*, 30 November 1892, 1; and *PT*, 30 November 1892, 3.

[7] Alexander Berg, *Juden-Bordelle: Enthüllungen aus dunkeln Häusern* (Berlin: Paul Heichen, 1892); and *Judenhyänen vor dem Strafgericht zu Lemberg*.

marriage, the men first looted their savings, then often persuaded them to travel under the pretense of a wedding in the men's home region, but in reality took them to an unfamiliar area and handed them over to a Jewish trafficker and thus to "eternal ruin."[8]

The Lemberg trial occurred within the wider context of ongoing European-wide debates over trafficking. When European and American reformers began focusing on the worldwide traffic in women and girls during the second half of the nineteenth century, they explicitly linked brothel prostitution to "white slaving," a term meant to evoke sympathy by alluding to the coercive, exploitative aspects of brothel sex and to underscore the similarity of this abolitionist movement with the earlier one against black slavery. Reformers sought to abolish brothel prostitution in order to contain trafficking.

A fifteen-year campaign to repeal Britain's Contagious Disease Acts (legislation dating from the 1860s permitting the arrest of prostitutes in some ports and garrison towns, and their subjection to compulsory VD examinations) was finally successful in 1886. Shortly afterward, English feminist and social reformer Josephine Butler, whose International Abolitionist Association had branches across Great Britain and Europe, stressed the relationship between prostitution and trafficking, and turned her sights to the elimination of regulated prostitution. About the same time, Western European Jewish reformers had responded to what they considered the conspicuous involvement among Eastern European Jews in white slaving.[9] In 1885, liberal Anglo-Jews established the Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls, Women, and Children in London, and in 1897 the Hamburg branch of B'nai B'rith formed a Jewish Committee to Combat White Slavery. Two years later, "moral entrepreneur" William A. Coote, an International Abolitionist Association member, began organizing national committees for the suppression of white slave traffic in various European capitals, Egypt, South America, South Africa, and the United States, which were meant to cooperate internationally.[10] Regular international congresses, the first of which was held in London in 1899, reflected greater female participation in the public sphere as well as global interest in prostitution and trafficking. Mirroring this worldwide preoccupation with prostitution, disease, and trafficking in a time of mass migration, destination countries

[8] "Raz na miesiąc: Gawęda," *Pracownica polska* 2/9 (September 1909): 15–16. I thank Keely Stauter-Halsted for providing me this material.

[9] See Marion Kaplan, "Prostitution, Morality Crusades and Feminism: German-Jewish Feminists and the Campaign against White Slavery," *Women's Studies International Forum* 5/6 (1982): 619–20; and Edward J. Bristow, *Prostitution and Prejudice: The Jewish Fight against White Slavery, 1870–1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).

[10] Jenny Daggers and Diana Neal, eds., *Sex, Gender, and Religion: Josephine Butler Revisited* (New York: Peter Lang, 2006); Jo Doezema, "The Construction of Innocence and the Spectre of Chaos," in *Sex Slaves and Discourse Masters: The Construction of Trafficking* (London: Zed Books, 2010), 49–73; and Richard Phillips, "Histories of Sexuality and Imperialism: What's the Use?," *History Workshop Journal* 63/1 (2007): 136–53. For an earlier study on abolitionism, see Edith Houghton Hooker, *The Laws of Sex* (Boston: The Gorham Press, 1921). I have taken the term "moral entrepreneur" from Brian Donovan, *White Slave Crusades: Race, Gender, and Anti-vice Activism, 1887–1917* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 59, who applied it to reformers Ernest Bell, William T. Stead, and George Kibbe Turner.

like the United States and European colonies, among them Hong Kong and Transvaal (British South Africa), passed laws prohibiting entry to specific categories of people, including prostitutes and traffickers, as well as lepers and other immigrants with "loathsome" or contagious diseases.[11]

Austrian trafficking discourse focused above all on Bukovina and Galicia, both of which had large, "foreign" Jewish populations.[12] The response of Galician Jewry's elite to the white slave panic was the founding in Lemberg on 15 September 1903 of a specifically Jewish organization dedicated to fighting trade in Jewish girls. More than one hundred people attended the meeting. In addition to anti-trafficking activist Bertha von Pappenheim, the Austro-Jewish feminist who would help found the Wilhelminian German *Jüdischer Frauenbund* (League of Jewish Women) in 1904, they included representatives of the local Jewish community and rabbis from Berlin, London, and Vienna. Among the other guests were Galician-Jewish provincial and imperial deputies, as well as one parliamentary deputy from Silesia and five from Germany. The organization called for preventative measures, among them more Jewish primary education and Jewish employment mediation offices to manage the lack of employment possibilities for Jewish girls.[13] Underscoring the international connectedness of anti-trafficking groups, the London Jewish protection organization sent the Lemberg group best wishes for thriving activity.

The focus on the trade in Jewish women and girls corresponded to a time of great economic and social upheaval among the Jews of Eastern Europe. Pogroms in imperial Russia in 1881 and 1882, together with Russian anti-Jewish legislation known as the May Laws following the assassination of Tsar Alexander II, drove Jews from various professions as well as from villages and small towns throughout what was called the Pale of Settlement—the western regions of Russia where Jews were permitted to live. Galicia and Bukovina, the two impoverished rural provinces bordering the Russian Empire, were among the major destinations of hundreds of thousands of these poverty-stricken Jews fleeing the violence.[14]

[11] See United States Congress, Section 3 of the Act of 3 March 1903, also known as the Anarchist Exclusion Act. See also AST, Luogotenenza del Litorale (hereafter LL), Atti generali, File 2405, Information für die politischen Landesstellen from the Ministerium des Innern, 26 October 1907; and Hong Kong Public Record Office, relevant sections of "A Bill" (The Protection of Women and Girls Ordinance), *The Hongkong Government Gazette*, 13 April 1889, 291–9; and subsequent amendments, 20 April 1889, 327–31; 18 January 1890, 35; 21 March 1891, 194; 1 September 1894, 712.

[12] While sensitive to the focus on trafficking in their provinces, Galician and Bukovinian newspapers did not shy away from addressing the issue. *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* regularly reported on meetings of the local Liga chapter.

[13] The minutes of the founding meeting of the branch in Lemberg are in DALO, fond 350, opys 1, document 2789, Report from 27 pazdziernika 1903 c.k. dyrektorów policyi we Lwowie on 15 and 16 September 1903, Conference in Lemberg to Bekämpfung des Mädchenhandels; reports on the meeting appeared in Bukovinian and Galician newspapers, including "Versammlung zur Bekämpfung des Mädchenhandel," *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 18 September 1903, 3; "Zwalczanie handlu żywym towarem," *Gazeta Polska*, 1 October 1903, 3; and "Zwalczanie handlu dziewczętami," *Wiek Nowy*, 17 September 1903, 5–6.

[14] In *Sex and Danger in Buenos Aires: Prostitution, Family, and Nation in Argentina* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), 8, Donna J. Guy writes that "Jewish men and women had become involved in prostitution rings after social structures collapsed in towns and refugee camps

The legal status of Jewish women, who could be married without civil sanction and whose marriages were thus not legally binding, was a causal factor in the Jewish white slave problem. Some four million Jewish women in Eastern Europe and the lands of the Ottoman Empire lived under rabbinical law, where rabbis performed marriages, which required only two witnesses. Destitute Jewish immigrants helped supply a steady stream of girls to be trafficked abroad. These young, sometimes illiterate women from the poor and uneducated circles of the Monarchy's eastern provinces, whose futures portended only the grinding rural poverty of the *shtetl* or the miserably paid work of dangerous, run-down factories, could be tricked into marrying a man—a procurer, a brothel keeper or a brothel employee—whose intentions were criminal. These brides followed their husbands abroad, only to learn that their marriages were a sham.[15] Moreover, no abandoned Jewish woman could remarry an observant Jew unless she had been granted a ritual divorce from her husband or his death had been established by a Jewish witness. Alone, destitute, and unfamiliar with the foreign lands in which they found themselves, some women might begin working as prostitutes, perhaps for the very men who had taken them abroad in the first place.[16]

Buenos Aires, the capital of Argentina, was one of the transoceanic locations that elicited great concern among those in the Monarchy who were involved in combating trafficking, because of that South American country's open, European-friendly immigration laws. Like members of the other anti-white-slavery organizations about which Donna J. Guy has written, the Austrian anti-trafficking activists were only concerned with the plight of some poor women in Argentina: the young, white European immigrants.[17]

In his 1904 exposé *Der Mädchenhandel und seine Bekämpfung* (The battle against white slaving), Josef Schrank, the anti-Semitic long-time police physician and president of the Austrian League to Combat Traffic in Women (the Liga), wrote of Hungarian Jews who during the late nineteenth century had used promises of marriage to lure women to Argentina, where there was a shortage of women because female migration had lagged behind that of males. These women were then sold as

following outbreaks of religious persecution in Germany, Austria, Russia, and Poland," somewhat simplifying the differing and complicated socio-political and national situation in the region. At the turn of the century there was little systematic persecution of Jews on religious grounds except in Russia, where ongoing persecution of Jews created difficulties that spilled into neighboring areas of partitioned Poland and elsewhere. See for example Hans Rogger, *Jewish Policies and Right-Wing Politics in Imperial Russia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); and Benjamin Nathans, *Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

[15] In contrast to most European countries, which gradually placed marriage under state control, in pre-revolutionary Russia marriage remained the responsibility of each religious confession, see ChaeRan Y. Freeze, *Jewish Marriage and Divorce in Imperial Russia* (Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press, 2002), 77.

[16] See the examples in the Buenos Aires consular report dated 30 April 1906 and sent to the Ministry of Interior Ministry on 4 July 1906, ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121; Lloyd P. Gartner, "Anglo-Jewry and the Jewish International Traffic in Prostitution, 1885–1914" *AJS Review* 7 (1982): 129–30; and Kaplan, "Prostitution, Morality Crusades and Feminism," 619, 623.

[17] Donna J. Guy, *White Slavery and Mothers Alive and Dead: The Troubled Meeting of Sex, Gender, Public Health, and Progress in Latin America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2000), 22.

prostitutes in Buenos Aires.[18] Following the legalization of prostitution in Buenos Aires in 1875, Hungarians, later joined by Frenchmen and Polish Jews, were the most active white slavers in that city.[19] European-born women, many of them Jews from Bukovina, Galicia, Romania, and Russia, did fill brothels in Buenos Aires during the peak years of European emigration between 1870 and 1914.[20] But while Jews in that city constituted a high proportion of the prostitutes relative to their total numbers in the population, they did not constitute a majority of them.[21]

Traffickers were an international group who sometimes attracted the unwelcome attention of local officials abroad, resulting in their expulsion and repatriation to the Monarchy. Indeed, shortly after the turn of the century, Egyptian officials expelled a number of European "white slavers," among them eight Austrian citizens, almost all of them Galician Jews.[22] Information on traffickers came from local sources like the Czernowitz officials who claimed that "a certain Elie Kupferschmiedt from Cairo" transported Bukovinian Jewish girls to foreign brothels, and Habsburg diplomats, who sometimes provided details about traffickers who were expelled from the countries where they were serving and repatriated to the Monarchy.[23] In late 1907, for example, two "dangerous traffickers," one a woman from Bukovina and the other a man from Galicia, together with a group of eleven Austrian prostitutes, were returned to Austria from Ottoman Salonica, where they then simply disappeared from the historical record.[24] The Austrian panic narrative was one of young, innocent girls moved from the Monarchy abroad, but they were not the only females who were transported for purposes of commercial sex. Prostitutes were moved within Austria[25] and between Austria and Hungary, as well as within nearby Germany, but this elicited relatively little public outcry. German-speaking women crossed the border from Habsburg Austria to Wilhelmine Germany to engage in sex work. The Austrians then moved from one brothel to another, and

[18] Josef Schrank, *Der Mädchenhandel und seine Bekämpfung* (Vienna: n.p., 1904), 41–2; and Guy, *Sex and Danger in Buenos Aires*, 40–1 on immigration, 5 on the sale of European women for prostitution. On Schrank as an anti-Semite, see Daniel M. Vyleta, *Crime, Jews and News: Vienna 1895–1914* (New York: Berghahn, 2007), 58–61.

[19] Guy, *Sex and Danger in Buenos Aires*, 14.

[20] Guy, *Sex and Danger in Buenos Aires*, 7; and Peter Becker, "Von Jamnika nach Kapstadt und Buenos Aires: Anna Königsberg und der Mädchenhandel in der Habsburgermonarchie," in *"Ostjuden": Geschichte und Mythos*, eds. Philipp Mettauer and Barbara Staudinger (Innsbruck: StudienVerlag, 2015), 139–71.

[21] Mir Yarfitz, "Caftens, Kurvehs, and Stille Chuppahs: Jewish Sex Workers and their Opponents in Buenos Aires, 1890–1930," *Perush: An Online Journal of Jewish Scholarship and Interpretation* 2 (2010), http://www.jidaily.com/m3smOEVSm (accessed 10 January 2017). For a contemporary discussion of trafficking Hungarian women, see Julius Kemény, *Hungara: ungarische Mädchen auf dem Markte: Enthüllungen über den internationalen Mädechenhandel* (Budapest: Sachs und Pollák, 1903).

[22] Several Romanians as well as a Prussian and an English man were also expelled. ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2122, handwritten letter, no signature, 24 March 1904.

[23] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2122, 1108/08, Response to the decree of k.k. Ministerium des Innern from Czernowitz, 24 December 1906.

[24] LPDW, PM, 1907/1, Nominalliste, k.k. Generalkonsulat in Salonica.

[25] See especially relevant files in LPDW/PM and newspaper articles from the period.

sometimes were transported to Hamburg, Bremen, and other harbor cities in northern Germany.[26]

KUPPELEI AND *MÄDCHENHANDEL*

Contemporary newspaper and police reports often reflect slippage between accusations of *Mädchenhandel* and *Kuppelei*, which were both prosecuted under paragraph 512 of the Austrian Criminal Code. Indeed, police and journalists alike sometimes employed *Mädchenhandel* and *Kuppelei* to describe the same crime in a single report or article. While Austrian criminal law from 1852 punished *Kuppelei* with imprisonment, including hard labor for up to five years, the sentence might be as brief as three weeks.[27] The Austrian Criminal Act of 1889 punished the pandering of prostitutes, if it violated police regulations, for example, procuring "chaste females," that is, virgins, their seduction through "insidious" tricks such as procuring authority in a relationship (sham marriages), and "white slavery." Penalties for procuring and trafficking in minors remained relatively slight, with panderers and traffickers alike being sentenced to as little as one year in prison.

Domestic procuring did not produce the same outraged headlines as did international trafficking. Indeed, it was most often mentioned in newspapers in connection with complaints, often in the form of letters to the editor, about the individual pimps who accompanied the all-too-common clandestine and/or independent, tolerated prostitutes on the streets of the Monarchy's larger cities. Neither the police nor the public considered most of the girls and women they moved within Central and Western Europe, many of whom had been previously registered as prostitutes, to have been "innocent" or "duped," as were the victims of "white slave trafficking."

Panderers played a crucial role in supplying the Monarchy's tolerated brothels with fresh sexual talent. They arranged for the transport of women, many of them veterans of the "trade," to work not only in brothels throughout Austria-Hungary, but also in neighboring Germany and northern Italy. The limited penalties for violating the law helped make procuring at the local, regional, and provincial level a viable economic undertaking. According to police records, many of those involved in the domestic transport of women, or their movement to Germany, were local, and Gentiles.[28] They primarily came from the lower classes; pandering was often an activity that men did in addition to other, badly paid employment, as servants or

[26] NA, Zemský úřad Praha-policejní a bezpečnostní záležitosti, Box 383, pol. řed., Policejní komisařství v Plzni, 24. srpna 1920; "Bordelle und Mädchenhandel," *Illustrierte Oesterreichische Kriminal-Zeitung*, 14 October 1907, 6.

[27] For example, thirty-eight-year-old Anna Špiedler, a mechanic's wife, was convicted of *Kuppelei* in May 1906, sentenced to three weeks in jail with weekly fasts, then expelled from Žižkov, LPDW, PM, 1906/1, k.k. Polizei-Direktion in Prag to k.k. Polizeidirektion als Centralstelle zu Ueberwachung des Mädchenhandel in Wien, 10 May 1906.

[28] In *Women for Hire: Prostitution and Sexuality in France after 1850*, trans. by Alan Sheridan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 283, Alain Corbin writes of French mass-circulation newspapers describing traffickers as foreigners, often non-Europeans, while according to

waiters in dissolute taverns, while the women accused of pandering were regularly described in terms of their own or their husbands' badly paid work, or identified as former prostitutes.

Police were more easily able to track the women and girls who had been moved within the Monarchy or to nearby Germany than those who had allegedly been trafficked to Romania, Russia, or outside Europe. Sometimes they were hunting particular girls whose desperate relatives had reported them missing.[29] Police obtained information on traffickers and panderers in many ways. Authorities relied on numerous sources—bourgeois aid organizations, denunciation and gossip as well as local, provincial, and international police intelligence—in their investigations, which were often extremely thorough, but equally often came to naught.

Periodically, information about procuring unexpectedly fell into police hands, as demonstrated by the case of 26-year-old Rosa Chládek, a native of Žižkov, then an independent town bordering eastern Prague.[30] In February 1914 Chládek wrote to Max Günther, a hairdresser in Essen, Germany whose address she had gotten from Prague hairdresser Karl Veselý. She requested the addresses of brothels in Germany and that Günther ask any brothel keepers of his acquaintance if they "wanted any girls." Brothel keepers on the market for prostitutes were to send Chládek money to cover travel costs, and she would send them the "pretty" girls she had available—all twenty-one years old, and most of them from Budapest and Vienna. The girls Chládek described fit the variety of male tastes that any good brothel needed: she offered blondes and brunettes; slim women and heavy. Indeed, as Chládek noted, she was at their service; she had whatever brothel keepers wanted, whenever they wanted it, including "younger" girls. As long as they sent her money to cover travel costs, she would supply their demands.

Who was Rosa Chládek, and how had she come by such an abundant supply of young women from elsewhere in the Monarchy? And who was Max Günther of Essen? Or Karl Veselý, for that matter? And how did the police find out about any of their correspondence?

According to Prague vice police, Chládek had formerly been a tolerated prostitute in Prague, but was now working at a brothel in the north German city of Lübeck. When neither working in Lübeck nor at a Prague brothel, Chládek stayed in the Bohemian capital with one Antonie Stašek and her husband, Gottlieb Stašek, a servant who was known in Prague as a procurer. Because Antonie Stašek spoke no German, Chládek, who did, conducted the former's commercial correspondence with the German lands. It appears that the hairdresser Veselý, whom the Stašeks knew from Prague, was not involved in the proposed commerce in women. Veselý had simply provided Günther's Essen address during a conversation in which he had commented that he—Veselý—had earned more money in Essen where he worked as a hairdresser for Günther than he had earned in Prague. Moreover, in

French police, the majority of those involved in moving women for purposes of commercial sex were French, many from the provinces.

[29] See relevant files from 1900 through the First World War in LPDW, PM.

[30] Žižkov has been a district of Prague since 1922.

Essen many of his clients had been prostitutes. Günther had turned Chládek's letter over to Essen police, rather than burn it as she requested.

Police searching the Stašek home in Prague found no prostitutes from Austria, Hungary, or anywhere else. Together with Chládek, the Stašeks were charged with violation of paragraph 512. While Chládek had returned to Germany before the verdict was handed down, both Stašeks were convicted of pandering and sentenced to four months' hard labor. They then disappeared from the historic record.[31]

In prosecuting pandering, the vice police sometimes focused on prostitutes themselves as possible procurers and traffickers, as the case of thirty-eight-year-old Anna Czernon, sometime servant, cashier, and waitress, illustrates. In April 1906, Brünn's first deputy mayor wrote officials at the Viennese police directorate to suggest that they contact Dresden officials about monitoring Czernon, who had formerly lived in Brünn and whom they suspected of trafficking, but who had left for Dresden sometime previously. Dresden officials responded in late June that Czernon had not been involved in trafficking, but had rather been registered as a prostitute in that city. She had in the meantime left on 26 April for Warnsdorf, Bohemia, where she was reported to be working as a waitress while practicing prostitution.[32]

Although the sentence might be slight, a guilty verdict for pandering could have far-reaching economic repercussions, as the experience of Troppau brothel keeper Luise Krapf reveals. Krapf traveled with two employees to Vienna to pick up two unemployed manicurists, whom their local associate, a hairdresser's assistant, had found for her. The associate had, however, promised the two well-paid employment as cashiers rather than as prostitutes. When the new recruits arrived in Troppau and discovered that their place of employment was a brothel, only one woman stayed. The other returned to Vienna, where she began legal proceedings against Krapf and the others. All four were tried in a Viennese district court in June 1906, found guilty, and jailed. When Krapf returned to Troppau following her one-month sentence, her brothel was closed, presumably because of her conviction for pandering.[33]

The Monarchy's prostitutes considered Germany an economically desirable place to work. According to police reports, some northern Bohemian prostitutes preferred working in Germany to their own province. Prostitutes in any case moved regularly across the border between the Bohemian lands and Germany, both accompanied and alone. Correspondence between the police centers in Vienna and Berlin reveals much about cross-border trade. A December 1905 report on the movement of women from Bohemia to neighboring Bavaria listed the number of Bohemian prostitutes in Bavarian brothels—Bamberg, Bayreuth, and Nuremberg had four, three, and two, respectively. Bohemian barkeep Franz Knize, who had

[31] LPDW, PM, 1914.

[32] LPDW, PM, 1906/1, Sicherheitsbehörde in Brünn to k.k. Polizeidirektion in Wien, 19 April 1906; Königlicher P-Prä, Abt. IV, Centralpolizeistelle, Bekämpfung des int. Mädchenhandel in Berlin, 28 June 1906.

[33] ZAO, Zemská vláda slezská Opava (hereafter ZVSO), Box 5199, Bürgermeister to k.k. schles. Landesregierung, 1 September 1906; and *Freie Schlesische Presse*, 6 June 1906, 2. Krapf's erstwhile employees left town.

been convicted for pandering in the Royal Provincial Court in Nuremberg the previous October and sentenced to two years in prison, had earlier brought the two Bohemian women working in Nuremberg there from Prague. Vice police interviews with the other women named in the report about how they arrived in Bavaria failed to produce names of more "brothel agents." Indeed, the prostitutes employed, according to the report's author, the time-honored excuse that they had heard of the brothel owner's address from "somewhere" and gone there voluntarily.[34]

A 1906 police survey of tolerated prostitutes in Dresden revealed ninety-four Austrian-born prostitutes, most of whom were from neighboring northern Bohemia. The majority, who had previously been registered in the Monarchy, claimed to have come to Dresden on the recommendation of other prostitutes who had previously worked there, and who provided addresses of Dresden brothels. The local vice police reported that they found only a few cases of *Fremde* (unknowns), possibly procurers, bringing the women to the brothels. One prostitute provided the name of a female broker who was allegedly in contact with unnamed Bohemian panderers, but the police did not know if the woman profited from her "mediation." Police mentioned one Dresden brothel keeper who visited brothels in Reichenberg and hired a prostitute from one of them for his own establishment.[35] The Dresden police analysis of these prostitutes included names and addresses of alleged panderers in northern Bohemia, as well as estimates of the size of their operations. The Dresden police wrote that there was no reason to disbelieve prostitutes' assertions, a comment that stands in contrast to the Bavarian police report and to many cases of alleged international, transoceanic trafficking. In these instances, the police, noting that the women probably feared the men who had trafficked them, simply dismissed these women's claims that they had voluntarily come to foreign brothels.[36]

Despite the occasional exposé in the tabloid press or studies in more serious newspapers, there was a relative lack of public outcry over the movement of women for the purposes of commercial sex within Austria itself or nearby, in part because many of these women, having already been registered as prostitutes, were not considered "innocent victims," transported against their will to engage in commercial sex with cultural and racial Others.

THE RHETORIC OF TRAFFICKING

The Monarchy's growing number of newspapers were implicated in the panic over white slave trafficking. The passage of a January 1900 law eliminating the periodical-press stamp, lessening their price, had permitted the proliferation of inexpensive, often illustrated newspapers aimed at an increasingly literate audience; consequently, popular discussion of white slavery in late imperial Austria expanded. The tabloid press in particular regularly addressed this topic. Not only the

[34] LPDW, PM, 1906/1, Königlicher Polizei-Präsident, Abteilung IV, 29 January 1906.
[35] LPDW, PM, 1906/1. [36] LPDW, PM, 1906/1.

boulevard press but also other newspapers featured stories full of salacious details about European women and girls escaping the (not-white, non-Christian) harems of North Africa and the Middle East, as well as a laundry list of other sex crimes and "immoral" behavior including abortion, bigamy, cross-dressing, homosexuality, infanticide, *Lustmord* (sexual murder), prostitution, and suicide.[37] Emil Bader, the journalist who broke the Regine Riehl scandal, had compared the defendant's brothel to those in Rio de Janeiro, which was among the non-European cities that took pride of place in contemporary literature on white slaving as "epitomes of depravity and veritable prisons of abducted European girls."[38] The growing number of journals intended for women published articles on prostitution and trafficking. These served a didactic function—warning female readers of possible danger implicit in both—while permitting women who were not involved in trafficking to follow with prurient interest, feigned or real horror, the fates of their unfortunate sisters who had fallen victim to these "Vampyre in Menschengestalt" (vampires in human form), the traffickers. In addition to reflecting contemporary attitudes toward, and interest in, race and sex, these stories also exposed related concerns about cultural-religious differences.[39]

Mirroring a variety of European-wide developments, among them eugenics, criminology, imperialism, and racial nationalism, the rhetoric of the white slaving panic facilitated the language of difference. Certainly the vision of upstanding, unwilling girls from the Monarchy being delivered to exotic, faraway, "less civilized," non-European countries—Argentina or the "Orient"—excited the Austrian public's imagination. This debate included tropes such as the corruption of "innocent girls," especially by Eastern European Jews, male and female, who were alleged to have kidnapped and even "enslaved" girls and taken them to racially different faraway places to ply the sex trade. Not only the urban press, but also smaller provincial newspapers, regularly carried news of traffickers and their victims. When cases went to court, coverage often appeared in the *Gerichtssaal* (courtroom) column in the serious press. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, headlines like "Jüdischer Mädchenhandel" (Jewish trafficking), describing "endless Jewish trafficking" and the "international trade with no other goal than bringing poor, helpless girls to houses of infamy" could regularly be found, along with reports of other legal infractions like counterfeiting, murder, suicide, and robbery, on the inside pages of conservative and anti-Semitic papers.[40] These stories helped construct the image of the "Jewish" trafficker in parts of provincial Austria where

[37] The *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* and Lemberg's *Wiek Nowy* provided readers a daily diet of salacious information. White females and kul/harem slaves, in fact, constituted a small minority of Ottoman slaves, Ehud R. Toledano, *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East* (Seattle: University of Washington, 1997), 6–7.

[38] *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, 24 June 1906, 5.

[39] See for example reports in *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 21 May 1903, 3; and 25 October 1913, 3; and *Wiek Nowy*, 9 May 1906, 5. On traffickers and their wares, reflecting gender, racial, and religious difference as the subject of paintings and etchings at the turn of the century, see Alexander Sixtus von Reden and Josef Schweikhardt, *Lust & Leidenschaft um 1900* (Vienna: Tosa Verlag, 2000).

[40] *Vorarlberger Volksblatt*, 13 November 1895, 2.

few women were trafficked and there were few Jews. They were part of contemporary discourses on anti-Semitism and xenophobic nationalism.

WOLF GOLDENBERG, JEWISH TRAFFICKER

In November 1907 two Eastern European Jews—thirty-year-old Wolf Goldenberg, a broker from Warsaw, and forty-eight-year-old Hermann Bruski, a self-described merchant from Buenos Aires—were tried in a Viennese court.[41] The pair had been charged the previous July with the attempted kidnapping of seventeen-year-old Taube Schiwek, a native of Russian Poland, and with providing false information to the police. Their trial reflects the enormous time and effort Austrian vice police expended to apprehend and convict accused white slavers. The case also reveals the complicated personal lives of some of those involved in trafficking.[42] Moreover, newspaper reporting on the affair, like that on the Riehl trial, demonstrates the fascination and the concern, or even fear, that accusations of sexual-moral offenses held for the Austrian public, especially when the protagonists were Jews.

The story centered on Goldenberg, whose last known residence was in Buenos Aires and who was in many ways a stereotypical trafficker, and Schiwek, a stereotypical victim. Despite an earlier arrest for theft, Goldenberg, like the character in the Yiddish author Shalom Aleichem's well-known short story from 1909, "The Man from Buenos Aires," appeared to be a relatively successful Eastern European Jew who spent considerable time abroad and whose source of income was unclear, if not illicit. He also kept company with other Jewish men of questionable reputation, and had relationships with Jewish women of equally questionable reputation.

The Liga took Schiwek into its care soon after the alleged kidnapping attempt and made plans to provide her suitable employment. Its representatives interviewed her in Vienna in late July, and Schiwek's testimony, which was forwarded to the vice police for use in the trial, shows some of the ambiguities in prosecuting white slaving. It reveals a teenager, unhappy with her employer and her pay, willing to accompany a stranger to a foreign country, leaving her position without notice, without informing her father, and without taking her belongings.[43] Schiwek claimed to have first seen one Srulik, alias Israel, Londner, also Jewish, about a year earlier, while she was still living at home in Russian Poland. She had been

[41] Herman Bruski's given name was variously rendered Herman and Hirsch and his family name Brusker, Bruski, Brusky, and Pruski in the records. The names Hermann Brusky (Austrian) and Hermann Bruschi (Russian) appeared on the list of pimps in a sixty-five-page report from consular officials in Buenos Aires dated 30 April 1906 in response to a Ministry of Foreign Affairs decree of 23 July 1904, and sent to the Ministry of Interior on 4 July 1906, ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121.

[42] LPDW, PM, 1907/1, República Argentina, Policía de la Capital Federal to Cónsul de Austria Hungria, 28 October 1907; "Verhinderte Entführung eines Mädchens nach Buenos-Aires"; and "Meldung," Josef Klimitsch, k.k. Polizei-Agent, 27 July 1907.

[43] LPDW, PM, 1907/1, Österreichische Liga zur Bekämpfung des Mädchenhandels, Protokoll, Vienna, 31 July 1907; see also cover letter from the organization's general secretary to the Oberkommissär, 31 July 1907, WStLA, LfS: A11, Vr7082/1907, k.k. Polizeidirektion in Wien to the k.k. Staatsanwaltschaft Wien, 26 July 1907.

curious about him because people said he had been to America. She thought he might also have noticed her. About six months later, with the permission of her father, Schiwek had moved to Jaworzna, a village in southern Galicia, to work as a scullery maid in an inn. Sometime later, the same man who had been in America reappeared, staying at the very inn where she was employed. He did recognize her, and when she told him she was dissatisfied with her current position, he asked if she wanted to go to America. Schiwek replied that she had no money, but wanted to go to Paris, where her brother and sister lived. Londner allegedly agreed to take her to Paris, saying she could repay him after she found new employment. She opted to accompany him, because she thought she could find a good position in the French capital. According to Schiwek, "Thinking about seeing my sister, I left without notice. Of course, my employer had already fired me several times, however, without letting me go. As I said, I did not have it good there." Schiwek's departure from Jaworzna had not been difficult. She was owed no wages, and Londner had earlier told her not to bring any clothing "because styles were different where she was going."[44]

Schiwek told Liga representatives the following: She and Londner had left Galicia by third-class carriage on the morning of 22 July, arriving at Vienna's Nordbahnhof that evening. They went straight to the Hotel Romania in Leopoldstadt, where Londner had booked a room. After Schiwek had gone to sleep, Londner knocked at the door, demanding entry. While she claimed to have no memory of the night's events, other than to say that she had been "very dumb," Schiwek's testimony indicates that she had sexual relations with Londner, perhaps even that she was raped. (The gynecologist that the Liga had examine Schiwek to determine her sexual status confirmed in early August that she had recently lost her virginity.[45]) The following morning, 23 July, Goldenberg appeared at the door. The two men left together, but only Goldenberg returned. He told Schiwek that Londner had had to leave, but that he—Goldenberg—would take her to Paris, and if she did not like it, to America. At this point, Londner disappears from the story despite the subsequent efforts of Galician police to locate him so he could testify at the trial.[46]

When the Viennese police, tipped off by the hotel staff, arrived and questioned Goldenberg, he claimed not to know Schiwek. Nor, he said, did he have any idea why she had packed her belongings with his in a suitcase. Schiwek, for her part, told the Liga representatives who questioned her that if Londner or Goldenberg had told her that they had wanted to take her to a brothel, she would not have gone with them at any price. The two men had only told her that things would go well for her, and she would see her sister.[47]

At this point, Bruski enters the story. Both the porter and a hotel chambermaid told police that Bruski, Goldenberg, or Londner was always with Schiwek, who

[44] LPDW, PM, 1907/1, Österreichische Liga zur Bekämpfung des Mädchenhandels, Protokoll, Vienna, 31 July 1907.

[45] WStLA, LfS: A11, Vr7082/1907, 1 August 1907 letter from gynecologist Hugo Klein.

[46] WStLA, LfS: A11, Vr7082/1907, 29 October 1907 k.k. Landesgendarmeriekommando nr. 5 (Galicia) to k.k. Landes als Strafgericht in Wien.

[47] LPDW, PM, 1907/1, Österreichische Liga zur Bekämpfung des Mädchenhandels, Protokoll, Vienna, 31 July 1907.

never left the room, where the blinds were drawn. Schiwek even took her meals there, while the men ate in the dining room. Moreover, she was not registered with the police as resident in the hotel. The porter claimed that he secretly warned Schiwek during a moment when she was alone that the men might be traffickers. Schiwek had allegedly responded that she did not know what these men wanted, but thought they were taking her first to Paris and then to America. On the afternoon of 23 July, Goldenberg asked the porter to send a telegram to Paris for him, which the latter did, then going afterwards to inform the police about his suspicion that Goldenberg was a trafficker. That evening, when Goldenberg attempted to leave the hotel with Schiwek, he and Bruski were arrested. Bruski denied knowing Londner or Goldenberg, and claimed only to have looked at Schiwek out of curiosity.[48]

The surviving archival records reveal how much work the Viennese police did on the case in the months following the arrests, and how closely international police cooperated. They amassed a wealth of information on Goldenberg and Bruski, who, like a number of other alleged traffickers, claimed to have come to Austria for their health. New Scotland Yard in London responded to queries from Vienna that their police knew the men by sight, but had nothing concrete against them. Informants in London's poverty-stricken Whitechapel district, home to numerous Irish and Jewish immigrants, where Goldenberg was reputed to make his living from procuring and trafficking women, knew him as "Wolf Toner." From Warsaw came the news that Goldenberg had been arrested in that city for theft in 1891.[49] Buenos Aires police, who identified Goldenberg as a "Jewish white slaver," noted that Dora Greenbalgh, who called herself Goldenberg's "wife," now worked at a brothel in Rio de Janeiro. Greenbalgh, a twenty-four-year-old prostitute from Russian Poland, told the Brazilian officials who interviewed her that she had lost her virginity to Goldenberg in Warsaw, then followed him to London and later Buenos Aires, where, she claimed, he lived on her earnings from commercial sex.[50]

Consular officials in Buenos Aires reported that Argentinian resident Bruski, a notorious panderer, was the financially well-off president of that city's "Kaftan Klub." (The popular association of Jews with international sex trafficking at the turn of the century was also reflected in Argentine police documents' use of the term "caftan" to refer to pimps. The term entered the language of the Buenos Aires underworld as a synonym for Jewish pimp, but was sometimes applied more broadly to all pimps and traffickers.[51]) Bruski was, indeed, married to a woman named "Helene," but not to the twenty-eight-year-old Russian citizen Helene

[48] LPDW, PM, 1907/1, "Verhinderte Entführung eines Mädchens nach Buenos-Aires"; and WStLA, LfS: A11, Vr7082/1907, k.k. Polizeidirektion in Wien to k.k. Staatsanwaltschaft Wien, 26 July 1907.

[49] WStLA, LfS: A11, Vr7082/1907, P. McIntyre, New Scotland Yard, 10 August 1907; k.k. öst.-hung. General-Consulat, 11 October 1907. "Toner" was variously spelled as "Poner," "Truer," and "Tuner."

[50] LPDW, PM, 1907/1, República Argentina, Policía de la Capital Federal to Cónsul de Austria Hungria, 28 October 1907; and "Copia," 7 November 1907 interview with Dora Greenbalgh in Rio de Janeiro.

[51] Yarfitz, "Caftens, Kurvehs, and Stille Chuppahs."

Domb whom police found in his company in Vienna and whom he had registered as his wife at the hotel where he was staying.[52] Rather, Bruski was married to one Helene Gesundheit of Buenos Aires, to whom he rented his house for use as a brothel.

The police followed up many leads, including addresses they found on Goldenberg's person, some of which they assumed were for Parisian brothels. Among those the police investigated were the other "Helene" (Domb), whom Viennese police concluded was a Bruski employee, and in whose possession were found suspicious items including pictures of women she claimed were brothel employees but whom Viennese police believed might be for sale, and Londner, who had indeed been in America (probably South America, because he apparently spoke some Spanish, but not English), had returned to Europe and was working in a Galician brothel. Police also briefly held a Hotel Romania employee. The man, a Galician Jew resident in Vienna, came under suspicion because he failed to register Schiwek at the hotel and because of his alleged relationship with other assumed traffickers, one of whom was thought to have been the originally planned recipient of Schiwek.[53]

Goldenberg and Bruski contested the charges of kidnapping and providing false information. Goldenberg asserted that he had come to Vienna to consult a specialist for the foot pain he suffered. He had indeed spent from 22 June to 20 July being treated at Bad Hall in Upper Austria. Goldenberg insisted that he had met Londner only in the hotel, and when asked, he declared himself ready to take Schiwek to Paris, where he was going in any case. Bruski, who also claimed to have health problems—records show that the physician whom he visited had recommended going to Karlsbad to take a cure—asserted that he had nothing to do with Goldenberg or Londner, had not discussed Schiwek with them, and could not remember why he had gone to see the girl. Furthermore, he did not own a brothel in Buenos Aires, but rather rented property to Helene Gesundheit, whom he, like consular officials, identified as his wife, and what she did with it was no business of his.

While the Austrian police investigated more alleged traffickers than they prosecuted, they had some successful convictions, as the Goldenberg case demonstrated. Convicted of abduction and providing false information, Goldenberg was sentenced to two months' hard time with two days monthly fasting, followed by expulsion from Austria. Bruski, found guilty only of providing false information, was sentenced to three days' strict detention and expulsion.[54] Because Goldenberg was tried in Vienna, his sentence received broad coverage in local newspapers. The anti-Semitic press described the case as another example of "Jewish trafficking,"

[52] On Helene Domb, WStLA, LfS: A11, Vr7082/1907, to the k.k. Landesgericht in Strafsachen Wien, 29 July 1907.

[53] WStLA, LfS: A11, Vr7082/1907, k.k. Polizeidirektion in Wien to the k.k. Staatsanwaltschaft Wien, 31 July 1907.

[54] WStLA, LfS: A11, Vr7082/1907, k.k. Polizeidirektion in Wien to the k.k. Staatsanwaltschaft Wien, 26 July 1907.

while the *Illustrierte Oesterreichische Kriminal-Zeitung* editorialized that far too few traffickers were caught and tried, and Goldenberg's sentence was far too light.[55]

A young woman from rural Galicia, Schiwek is representative of at least some of the girls who were allegedly trafficked. Schiwek also complicates the image of innocent and inexperienced trafficking victims, which the Viennese vice police claimed her to be, tricked into leaving their homes and going abroad. Described in the Viennese press as shy, perhaps even dull-witted, "impetuous" is also accurate.[56] With her father's permission, Schiwek had already left her home in Russia to work in Galicia. She seems to have had some sense of adventure, leaving her position in Jaworzna on the spur of the moment and without informing her father in the hope of meeting up with her siblings, who were not expecting her, in another country. The ambiguities of this affair were typical of many trafficking cases: the police did a great deal of detective work, but still the evidence was inconclusive, the witnesses presented contradictory testimony, and the victim was foolish as well as "innocent."

MIGRATION AND PANIC IN LATE IMPERIAL AUSTRIA

The rhetoric of trafficking reflected concerns about the need for social control in an increasingly capitalist, mobile, modernizing, urbanizing, and transnational society. Rapidly expanding communication and transportation networks together with the anonymity of the growing metropolises in Habsburg Central Europe not only permitted wholesale immigration of the populations of entire villages, but enabled men to immigrate, leaving their women behind, and women to travel alone as never before. They also facilitated the movement of girls against their will. Intellectual trends, medical-scientific advancements, and changing political conventions provided social commentators an expanded vocabulary with which to voice their varied concerns about the problem that trafficking constituted. These developments encouraged the public's heightened perception of and concern, even panic, over trafficking at the turn of the century, which was popularly perceived to pose a threat to the women of Austria.[57]

Trafficking was an international issue in the decades of high European immigration, an era when rumors of trade not only in girls, but also in human beings more generally, abounded. In the case of Austria-Hungary, which alone among the Great Powers had no overseas colonies, these rumors also reveal unease with mass movement in an era of imperialism and transnationalism. The illicit movement of women was only one of the Austrian government's concerns in controlling mass

[55] *Illustrierte Oesterreichische Kriminal-Zeitung*, 23 December 1907, 6.

[56] See for example *Volksblatt für Stadt und Land*, 8 November 1907, 12.

[57] On pre-1914 concerns about trafficking in girls as a moral panic, see Diana Wong, "The Rumour of Trafficking: Migration Policy in the face of Moral Panic and Migrant Agency," doc. 2053 (2007), La Strada International, European Network against Trafficking in Human Beings, http://lastradainternational.org/?main=documentation&document=2053 (accessed 10 January 2017); also Jean-Michel Chaumont, *Le mythe de la traite des Blanches: Enquête sur la fabrication d'un fléau* (Paris: La Découverte, 2009).

emigration, especially from the Monarchy's eastern provinces, between 1880 and the First World War.[58]

There was large-scale movement of the Monarchy's peoples through its porous international borders from the 1880s onward. The huge Habsburg bureaucracy was inadequate to support and protect them, because transoceanic travel as an organized migratory service remained in the hands of foreign companies until 1904, and the majority of Habsburg citizens sailed via foreign-owned steamships from northern European ports (Antwerp, Bremen, Hamburg, and Rotterdam) to North America.[59] The newspapers in Bukovina and Galicia regularly carried illustrated advertisements for the Austro-Americana, Cunard, and Hamburg-Amerika lines' "newest, most comfortable, fastest, and least expensive" steamers from the port cities of Northern and Western Europe to the Americas, the Middle East, Africa, and East Asia.[60] Their agents in Czernowitz, Lemberg, and other provincial capitals, ready to sell tickets, their advertisements in local newspapers, and the glowing promises in their brochures and pamphlets all beckoned the Monarchy's poor to a new and better life. The large number of Habsburg residents migrating, sometimes en masse, and traveling steerage, peaked in 1913. Only the outbreak of the First World War in August 1914 slowed emigration.

The travel agents, many of them Jewish, who moved so many men, women, and children from the poverty of the Monarchy's eastern and rural provinces to the western hemisphere and elsewhere were regularly accused of human trafficking, in similar terms to those applied to white slave traffickers and other criminals.[61] In his

[58] In *The Politics of Trafficking: The First International Movement to Combat the Sexual Exploitation of Women* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), 5, Stephanie A. Limoncelli notes that colonization schemes were organized around sexual arrangements. The state assumed the sexual needs of colonizing men, many of whom were separated from their families, and sought to help regulate those needs using sexual labor. Although colonial India was regularly named as a destination location for women trafficked from the Monarchy, it seldom appeared in police records of specific cases. On migration from Galicia, see Tara Zahra, "Travel Agents on Trial: Policing Mobility in Late Imperial Austria," Past & Present 223 (May 2014): 161–75. On placing transport companies at the center of global mobility, see Torsten Feys, "Shipping Companies as Carriers and Barriers to Human Mobility: The Atlantic and Pacific Border Regimes of the United States" in "Forum: Studies in Migration Worldwide" *World History Connected*, http://worldhistoryconnected.press.illinois.edu/11.3/forum_feys.html (accessed 10 January 2017).

[59] On the entry of the Monarchy's main harbors, Trieste (Austria) and Fiume (Hungary), into transoceanic steerage traffic to North America, see Aleksej Kalc, "Prekooceansko izseljevanje skozi Trst 1903–1914," *Zgodovinski časopis* 46/4 (1992): 479–96.

[60] See the advertisements in Bukovinian and Galician dailies, including *Bukovyna*, 27 November 1909, 4; *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 13 August 1911, 13; *Gazeta Polska*, 25 March 1906, 4; and *Wiek Nowy*, 6 July 1905.

[61] On trafficking, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 8 February 1903, 3; *Gazeta Polska*, 9 June 1892, 3; on travel agents as traffickers, Bertha Pappenheim in *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 19 June 1907, 2; and Schrank, *Der Mädchenhandel und seine Bekämpfung*, 17. The Ministry of Interior warned that some of the largest of these firms, including F. Missler in Bremen, sometimes used fright tactics to deter prospective migrants from their original destination in the United States—the preferred destination of the Monarchy's immigrants—to other locations, like Argentina. (The Habsburg government also warned in 1907 that the dire economic situation in Argentina did not bode well for many Austrian emigrants.) These agents told horror stories of immigrants rejected as unfit owing to disease and returned to their point of origin. On one Russian Jewish emigrant's fear of being returned to Europe from the United States if he were found to have, for example, trachoma, see Gur Alroey, *Bread to Eat*

novel *Radetzky March*, Joseph Roth describes [Jewish] "dealers and agents" on the Galician-Russian border who dealt not only "in feathers for feather beds, in horsehair, in tobacco," but also in "human beings, live human beings," and ran "shipping offices and agencies for foreign brothels."[62] Indeed, despite the public's focus on illicit movement of "innocent" girls abroad, among the most highly publicized of the various emigrant scandals, the "Canadian-Pacific Affair," at the peak of European immigration to Canada, involved the illegal movement of men rather than women. The company's agents in nine cities throughout the Monarchy were arrested in autumn 1913. They were charged with illegal practices, including smuggling young military-age males from Galicia across the German border and transporting them to Canada, where the company owned huge tracts of land.[63] Cautionary letters from earlier immigrants periodically appeared in newspapers and the Ministry of Interior circulated information on the economic difficulties that poorer, less educated, and unskilled migrants faced, but these warnings seldom functioned to deter hopeful immigrants.

Close scrutiny of trafficking victims reveals young women with a variety of motives. Some, attracted by the anticipated wealth of foreign liberators, hastily married these men and went abroad with them in the hope of a better life, many with the full support of their often impoverished families. In some cases, poor parents permitted their children to travel abroad to work in bands, choirs, and other ill-paying jobs, where they ended up begging or engaging in prostitution. Girls left Austria to take up what they thought were "solid" positions, only to discover upon their arrival that they had been tricked. The only jobs available to them were in brothels or in disreputable taverns and inns. Women who had previously worked as tolerated prostitutes and women who had been arrested for clandestine prostitution also went abroad, often with the help of a middleman, to practice "the trade," disrupting the narrative of corrupted innocence.[64]

The discourse on trafficking in fin-de-siècle Austria incorporated local and international elements. Concerns about "innocent" trafficking victims, Jewish and Gentile, and anger at the immoral behavior of the allegedly overwhelmingly Jewish traffickers dovetailed nicely with rhetoric about prostitution inside the

and Clothes to Wear: Letters from Jewish Migrants in the Early Twentieth Century (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2011), 92–5.

[62] Joseph Roth, *Radetzky March*, trans. Joachim Neugroschel (Woodstock, NY: The Overlook Press, 1995), 128.

[63] *Gazeta Polska*, 30 October 1913, 2–3; *Kurjer Lwowski*, 21 and 22 October 1913, 1; *New York Times*, 18 October 1913, 3, and 22 October 1913, 4; and *Reichspost*, 17 October 1913, 1–2.

[64] See "Torhovlya divchatamu," for complaints about parents who "deceived government institutions" so their daughters could more easily go abroad in *Bukovyna*, 30 November 1909, 3. The rate of illiteracy in Dalmatia, Bukovina, and Galicia in 1880 had been 90.3, 89.7, and 81.1 percent respectively, see Giorgio Ausenda, "War and Nationalities Problems: The End of the Austro-Hungarian Empire" in *Effects of War on Society*, ed. Ausenda (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, Ltd., 2003), Table 3, 160. Citing Central Statistical Commission figures from 1900, *Gazeta Polska* noted that Dalmatia had the highest rate of illiteracy at 60.91, while 52.88 percent of the residents of Bukovina and 45.11 percent of the residents of Galicia were also illiterate. At 62.44 percent, Ruthenian speakers had the highest illiteracy rate in the Monarchy. "Analfabetyzm w Austryi," 22 November 1903, 2.

Monarchy, reflected famously in the Riehl trial: innocent girls forced into the trade for the monetary gain of others, and in some cases, the police being unable to prevent it. At the urging of France and other regulationist countries, at the Paris Congress in 1904, the International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic did not equate white slavery and prostitution. It was in this atmosphere that Austro-Hungarian representatives signed the agreement, which came into force on 18 July 1905.[65]

CZERNOWITZ AND TRIESTE: TRAFFICKING CENTERS

Josef Schrank and other European police identified two Austrian provincial capitals in particular, Czernowitz and Trieste, with trafficking at the turn of the century. Schrank claimed that Czernowitz, which was located close to the Romanian and Russian borders, was a major continental trafficking hub, where the trade in women was quite public. Trieste, which had long offered access across the Mediterranean to Alexandria, Egypt and elsewhere, was increasingly associated with transoceanic trafficking. These were the two cities, together with Lemberg, that Liga representatives regularly criticized for failing to take sufficient action against traffickers.

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, Czernowitz's German-, Polish-, and Ruthenian-language newspapers carried tales of Jewish trafficking in the city and elsewhere in Bukovina, as well as in neighboring Galicia and Romania. Moreover, 90 percent of the girls transported from Czernowitz may well have been Jews, as Schrank claimed in his 1904 study.[66] Certain characteristics of the accused led the police to suspect particular people of trafficking. They were Habsburg émigrés, often Jewish, men and women alike, who held foreign passports, had pictures of young women in their possession, offered young women positions abroad, had foreign currency, and possessed transoceanic steamer tickets. Police mistrust increased if investigations showed that the people in question were using assumed names or had previous criminal accusations or records, especially for trafficking.[67] Although one stereotype about traffickers was that of outsiders who ingratiated themselves in small villages through spending money, luxury, and promises,[68] some of the people whose names appeared in the pages of these newspapers defied stereotypes. They were young working-class men from the provinces, like the paperhanger's assistant who had been seen spending time with girls who appeared to be lower-class.

Some residents took offense at the rhetoric condemning Czernowitz as a trafficking center, which they considered an insult to them, their city, and their province. They believed that the discussion around one case of alleged trafficking

[65] Doezema, *Sex Slaves and Discourse Masters*, 109–10.
[66] Schrank, *Der Mädchenhandel*, 42.
[67] *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 22 August 1909, 6; and 29 August 1909, 6.
[68] *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 17 November 1905, 2.

in 1905 labeled their province as "uncultured," somehow beyond the European pale. Local newspapers reported the comments of a city council member at a meeting on 28 March 1905. He claimed that on his most recent trip to Vienna, the newspapers of the imperial capital had been filled with the tale of two Viennese girls who had been saved from a "horrible fate" at the hands of a Czernowitz trafficker, ending up in a brothel. The affair had even been the subject of discussion in parliament. The city council representative wanted to know what had actually happened and what role the local police had played in the events.[69] The unnamed Czernowitz café owner who was accused of the attempted trafficking—and the middleman who had allegedly helped him—rejected the accusation, asserting that the advertisement he had had placed in Viennese newspapers was "genuine." He really was looking for two female cashiers, "like those found in all cafés" (where low pay meant many engaged in clandestine prostitution on the side). When the two girls he hired did not like the work, they left town. The city council member called for an explanation from the mayor; he demanded that city hall fight the attack on the city's reputation if the allegation of trafficking proved to be incorrect. At the same time, the café owner sought to save his own reputation.[70] This incident, like many others that involved accusations of trafficking, soon disappeared from the pages of the newspaper. In this case, perhaps the resignation of the long-time mayor on 5 April overshadowed concerns at city hall about the alleged incident.[71]

At the annual Liga assembly in Vienna in October 1905, there were assertions that trafficking in women was almost a "commercial enterprise" in Bukovina, but that nothing could be done about it because most of the girls involved "were in agreement." This important point, seldom remarked upon, speaks to their decision—among limited options—to go abroad. Local voices were raised rejecting the idea that provincial officials tolerated such criminal undertakings. Czernowitz residents defended Bukovina's "Germanness" and the place of its provincial capital in "western" culture.[72] Those Czernowitz city fathers—as well as their wives and daughters—actively supported the local secretariat, later branch, of the Liga after its foundation in 1903, and worked hard to stop the activities of traffickers, to "rescue" victims and return them to their families, and to help indigent young women find work, although the scope of their activity was limited by lack of funds. These men and women resented the unwanted attention that regular accusations about "white slaving" and failure to take sufficient measures against trafficking brought to their city and province. They rejected being labeled by those in the Monarchy's western provinces and elsewhere in Western Europe as "half-Asian," and sought to distinguish their province from the *polnische Wirtschaft* (a pejorative term referring to the

[69] "Aus dem Geminderate," *Bukowinaer Post*, 30 March 1905, 2; "Aus dem Geminderate," *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 30 March 1905, 2; "Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten," *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 30 March 1905, 3.

[70] "Der Mädchenhandel in der Bukowina," *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 1 April 1905, 3.

[71] "Rezygnacya burmistrza," *Gazeta Polska*, 6 April 1905, 1.

[72] The report appeared in *NFP* (morning edn.), 19 October 1905, 9; the response from Czernowitz in the *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 1 November 1905.

former Kingdom of Poland and meaning roughly "dissolute household") that they believed characterized the neighboring province of Galicia.[73]

Like Czernowitz, Trieste also occupied a special position in the public discussion and rhetoric of prostitution and trafficking. It regularly featured in newspapers throughout Austria in connection with various sexual infractions, including midwives acting as abortionists (the so-called angel-makers), cases of infanticide, drunken and foul-mouthed prostitutes, prostitutes causing tavern fights, and the murder of prostitutes.[74] Trieste was the Monarchy's busiest port, and home to its largest shipping company, Lloyd Austriaco, whose ships plied the Mediterranean, including the "Orient" (the Middle East or simply the "East" as it was sometimes called), as well as Asia. The Austro-Americana, the English Cunard line, and the Canadian Railway Pacific, which also sailed from Trieste, served the transatlantic routes for emigrants and other passengers, and carried many of the Monarchy's migrants to the western hemisphere.[75] Trieste was both the port from which many trafficking victims allegedly sailed and the port to which victims, traffickers, and others accused of involvement with prostitution abroad were returned from destination countries. The returnees sometimes posed logistical problems for local authorities, who were meant to inform the authorities at their place of *Heimatzuständigkeit* of their pending arrival and then send them on their way.[76] It is thus to be expected that Trieste was among the Monarchy's cities particularly closely associated with prostitution and with the worldwide moral panic over trafficking that began in the late nineteenth century and continued through the war.[77]

As in Czernowitz, Triestine officials sought to deflect allegations of taking insufficient action against trafficking around the turn of the century and later. In August 1903, police officials had rejected accusations from a member of Germany's national committee against white slave trafficking, that women sailed from their city to Alexandria or Cairo. The only women and girls who did so, they claimed, were residents of the Littoral who had been hired as servants by wealthy Egyptians spending their summer holidays in Trieste, and who then accompanied the families upon their return.[78] There was some evidence for police assertions. Reports from Alexandria reveal that some European women in that city's brothels did sail from Trieste, but victims more typically came overland through Constantinople, which

[73] "Halbasiatisches," *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 4 August 1907, 1.

[74] See for example *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 17 July 1912, 2; and *Triester Tagblatt*, 12 May 1906, 1; 29 July 1906, 2; and 17 February 1912, 2.

[75] Aleksej Kalc, "Trieste as a Port of Immigration from East and Southeast Europe," in *East Central Europe in Exile, vol. 1: Transatlantic Migrations*, ed. Anna Mazurkiewicz (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2013), 127–40. Triestine newspapers also carried advertisements for overseas travel. See for example the center pages of the local Italian-language Social Democratic newspaper, *Il Lavoratore*, in the decade before the war.

[76] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2122, Statthalterei Triest Abschickung von 15 Prostitutierten aus Konstantinopel, 25 April 1914.

[77] Ministry of Interior files at the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv contain correspondence on alleged trafficking via Trieste until the eve of the war.

[78] AST, LL, Atti generali, File 2408, Ministerium des Innern to the k.k. Polizei-Direction in Triest to k.k. Statthalterei on 8 August 1903.

was less well policed.[79] At the same 1905 Liga congress where Czernowitz had been criticized, participants also claimed that surveillance of Trieste's harbor was insufficient to halt trafficking, and pressured the provincial governor to bring the most egregious cases to court, which he promised to do.[80]

The Trieste-Alexandria route remained a focus of anti-trafficking concern. Almost a decade after Schrank's book appeared, in September 1912, the Ministry of Interior sent a decree concerning the battle against white slavers moving girls to Egypt to the provincial governors of the Austrian Littoral and Carniola. The number of Slovene-speaking women traveling to Egypt had been increasing. Some 2,000 of them had been observed in Alexandria the previous year. Informed sources had told the Ministry of Interior that most of these women were looking for work and had gone to Alexandria to take up proffered positions, but fell victim to white slavers and became prostitutes, thus sinking into "bodily and moral ruin." Some women arrived in Egypt without legitimate job offers; in part they were deceived into thinking they were taking up posts that did not exist, positions that were only a pretense of white slavers.

The Ministry reminded provincial officials to scrutinize female immigrants to the "Orient" and to make them aware of the dangers they faced if they went there to work without having made the "necessary" inquiries.[81] Indeed, the imperial Ministry of Trade instructed sea/naval officials in Trieste to use their influence on the Lloyd Austriaco, whose ships criss-crossed the Mediterranean, including to Egypt and the Middle East, as well as sailing to Asia, to ascertain that placards providing the addresses of refuges for girls were placed in the second- and third-class passenger areas and to apprise all women and girls traveling alone of this information. These placards warned girls against going to the "Orient" without reliable information about the positions they were taking up there. Moreover, the officials were instructed to ensure that representatives of these protective organizations be permitted to board ships in both Trieste and Alexandria.[82] In the latter, there had been a girls' protective society since 1912. Members, recognizable by the brooch they sported in the organization's colors, were present at the arrival of each ship whose passengers included women and girls traveling alone, and were available to provide them with help and advice.

In the summer and autumn of 1913, one Catholic protective organization asserted that an average of twenty maids and other young women from the Italian-speaking parts of Carinthia and Carniola and elsewhere were being accosted weekly by white slavers in Nabresina. They were then allegedly taken just south to Trieste, particularly on Saturdays, when large numbers of steamers headed for Alexandria. The Triestine Police Directorate rejected the assertions, which it

[79] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2122, handwritten letter, no signature, 24 March 1904.
[80] *NFP* (morning edn.), 19 October 1905, 9.
[81] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 7745/1913 Erlaß des Ministeriums des Innern to the Landeschefs in Triest und Laibach, 24 September 1912.
[82] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2122, 7745/1915, Erlaß des Ministereiums des Innern an die Landeschefs in Triest und Laibach vom 24. September 1912, Z. 936/M.I. ex 1912, betreffend die Bekämpfung des Mädchenhandels nach Aegypten.

claimed the organization regularly made, but which were based on incorrect information. The police asserted that they checked the personal documents, travel agents, goals, companions, and destinations of those women who embarked in Trieste before any of them departed for Alexandria. If there were any doubt about the purpose of their journey, the Triestine police also investigated and turned suspects over to the courts, where they were regularly acquitted owing to lack of evidence. The police noted that rather than embarking in Trieste, those involved in trafficking girls from Austria's northern provinces and Hungary to the east—most of them Galician or Hungarian Jews of both sexes—took alternative routes along the Italian coast of the western Adriatic, either via Nabresina-Mestre-Venice or Nabresina-Mestre-Rimini, in order to avoid the strict police control in the port of Trieste.[83] Later in 1913, the Triestine governor's office informed the Ministry of Interior that Nabresina was also unlikely to be a site for moving women, because traffickers near Trieste were aware that the security services and private protective groups were organized against their activities.[84]

Czernowitz and Trieste, transmigration centers located on the borders of the Monarchy, were homes to active anti-trafficking organizations, and trafficking was a topic of discussion in the local press. Residents were sensitive to accusations that their cities played any outsized role in the Monarchy's ongoing trafficking problem. Local reactions to trafficking accusations sometimes also exposed a kind of defensive social anxiety that they might be designated internal Other, as reflected in the responses of Czernowitz's city fathers to accusations of trafficking. There, city fathers sought to demonstrate their place in "civilization," their "westernness," and to differentiate the Bukovinian capital, indeed, the entire province, from neighboring Galicia, which was also closely associated with trafficking. In any case, for most Habsburg residents, the two provinces, Galicia (bordering Russia) and Bukovina (bordering on Russia and Romania), although "European," were sufficiently Other to gain attention as sites of danger for the girls and women of the Monarchy.

TRAFFICKERS TAKE A CURE IN KARLSBAD

The special attributes of some of the Monarchy's cities that made them attractive to the general population and to a growing number of foreign travelers also made them attractive to traffickers. Karlsbad, together with the smaller Franzensbad and Marienbad, were some of the most popular Habsburg spa destinations.[85] During the "season," the population of this wealthy, world-famous spa, with its imposing art nouveau and historicist buildings, expanded greatly. Among the many visitors it

[83] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2122, k.k. Polizei-Direktion Triest, Betreff: Mädchenhandel in Nabresina to die k.k. Statthalterei in Triest, Für den k.k. Hofrat-Polizeidirektor: Mahkovec m.p., 29 September 1913.

[84] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2122, 48265/1913, Statthalterei in Triest to the k.k. Statthalter, 13 December 1913.

[85] See Mirjam Triendl-Zadoff, *Nächstes Jahr in Marienbad: Gegenwelten jüdischer Kulturen der Moderne* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007).

attracted from abroad were men and women who were rumored to be involved in international trafficking. Since these questionable characters sometimes visited Karlsbad under the guise of treatment at a spa, local and imperial officials paid close attention. These people included brothel owners and traffickers, especially from South America, many Jews, and often former residents of Austria-Hungary, who sometimes toured the Monarchy and were thought to be searching for "new talent" to fill their brothels.

Since the mid-nineteenth century, the spas of western Bohemia had been attracting Jews from across Europe, from all branches of the religion, who gathered there in the summertime. As a result, the three towns played an important role as "marriage markets" for Central and Eastern European Jews in the last decades of the Monarchy.[86] It was perhaps no surprise that Karl Fleischer placed an advertisement for a wife in the 31 August 1904 number of the *Neue Freie Presse*: "Heiratsantrag" (marriage proposal). "A young, neat/chic South American who is on a pleasure trip in Europe and is well situated seeks a young girl with whom to correspond. Write to him under the name 'Argentinien' at the Neubauer newspaper office in Karlsbad." Karlsbad police sought to use this advertisement as evidence against the Prague-born Fleischer, then a resident of Buenos Aires, who had been staying at the Hotel Post, and whom the police accused of trafficking in women. He claimed to have published the advertisement in the newspaper in order to find a wife. Karlsbad's mayor informed the Viennese police on 3 September that Fleischer's uncle, an inspector general in the head office of the Austrian train corporation, confirmed his interest in marrying. At this point, interest in Fleischer dissipated.[87]

After the turn of the century several groups of brothel keepers, suspected traffickers, and pimps from Buenos Aires came to Karlsbad, not only to take a "cure," but also allegedly to find girls to take back to Argentina. Each time, the appearance or rumored appearance of people suspected of involvement in trafficking, most of them Jews, many of them born in Russia or Russian Poland, some of them also hailing from Germany or the Habsburg Monarchy, occasioned a flurry of correspondence among local officials and their counterparts in Buenos Aires, Berlin, and Vienna. There is no evidence that any of these people, whom officials watched so closely, recruited girls in Karlsbad. In one case, local authorities reported that the suspects "talked only among themselves" during their stay. In another case, officials from Czernowitz warned the Karlsbad police to be on the lookout for one Rosa Hirsch, a suspected trafficker. She and her husband, who ran a brothel in Buenos Aires, had arrived in Bukovina on 3 May 1912. They apparently left there for western Bohemia on 23 May. The Czernowitz authorities requested that the Karlsbad police supply them with any information on her activities that might involve prostitution and white slaving. According to Karlsbad authorities, Madame Hirsch never arrived in their city.[88] It appears that the

[86] Triendl-Zadoff, *Nächstes Jahr in Marienbad*, 111.

[87] LPDW, PM, 1906/2, Case no. 8272.

[88] See correspondence, SOkAKV, AMKV, Spisy B-XI -V-188, Mravnostní policie - 1915, Box 1, Obchod s děvčaty a prostituce 1907–1913. American traffickers also traveled to Europe in their search

so-called traffickers who went to Karlsbad, like so many of the city's other visitors, really did go for their health.

This correspondence reflects the reputation Buenos Aires had earned among Habsburg—and other—officials as a site of dangerous, foreign, and illicit commercial sex, a city whose residents' need for illegal sexual gratification posed a danger to the Monarchy's women. It also demonstrates the suspicions that some returning Jewish migrants from the dangerous European "East," even from the Monarchy's own eastern provinces, aroused among officials.

GOVERNMENTAL EFFORTS TO COMBAT TRAFFICKING

Mirroring the national xenophobia that was a component of the international panic, the Austrian government focused more of its resources on the transcontinental trade in women for purposes of commercial sex, rather than on the forced movement of women within the Monarchy. The centralization of police activities in Vienna reflected the recognition that trade in women was an "international evil" and could best be dealt with through international agreements. This stance was in sharp contrast to the assertion that prostitution was a necessary evil, the defense of regulated prostitution that its proponents regularly made in their debates with the abolitionists. How seriously did imperial, provincial, and local authorities take the rhetoric of trafficking, and what actions did they undertake to prevent it? Archival records indicate that the Habsburg authorities took trafficking in women and girls seriously and show some of the efforts that local, provincial, and imperial officials made to combat the problem. Austrian consular and diplomatic officials in destination cities worldwide—among them Alexandria, Buenos Aires, Cairo, Constantinople, and Rio de Janeiro—described the plight of European women in foreign brothels. They sought to identify the routes taken and the people responsible for the trafficking in European women and girls. Responding to popular domestic and international concerns about prostitution and white slaving, imperial authorities applied a series of measures in their attempts to combat it. Records from the Ministry of Interior, the Police Archive in Vienna, and correspondence in local and regional archives all demonstrate the attention officials at all levels paid to trafficking in women.

Austrian officials and others concerned with preventing trafficking in women attempted to involve the greater public in this effort because they believed that the police and customs officials alone could prevent only a few cases of trafficking. Habsburg authorities relied on a variety of sources, including denunciation and gossip. However, citizens sometimes informed on possible traffickers without providing many hard facts. In a letter to the Viennese police dated 28 June 1899, one Arnold Teuber reported that he had overheard two fellow passengers, whose names he provided—"both Jews," one of whom "looked like a Jew" and had

for women; for New York examples see "Die Gefahren des Mädchenhandels," *Wiener Kriminal- und Detektiv-Zeitung*, 7 October 1907, 4–5.

quite lively "Jewish" behavior—on a steamer en route to Cherbourg, France, discussing their plans to take the train to Vienna to find young women to take back to New York.[89] There was little police could do in such cases.

The police had warnings posted in railroad stations—even in the railroad cars—to alert girls and women traveling alone about the dangers male strangers posed. Some officials also called for close scrutiny of the newspaper inserts that made such glowing promises to new arrivals in cities across the empire. They advocated using flyers, even assemblies, to inform these innocents of the possible dangers they faced once they left Austria. Moreover, officials encouraged Austrian consulates abroad to create information centers where officials and others could find out the nature of the "business" that seemed to be appealing for workers—that is, whether the establishments actually existed or whether they were nothing more than "human warehouses."[90]

Governmental directives not to issue passports to known traffickers were sometimes ineffective, because such people often used foreign passports for their travels. Nonetheless, the government was able to hinder some of them. Administrative and police officials in Czernowitz, for example, watched closely for traffickers, and if the suspects acted suspiciously, seized their passports. Bukovina border authorities were also instructed that in cases where they harbored any doubts whatsoever about travelers who might be involved in white slaving, they were to delay their travel while they gathered evidence against them.[91]

As part of the stricter, more intensive regime of surveillance of those suspected of trading in women, the Viennese Police Directorate envisioned the regular exchange of information between local officials throughout Austria and the Vienna headquarters. Police officials were expected to pay particular attention to railroad stations and quays, especially those along the Monarchy's borders. These were places where young women were considered to be in the gravest danger of being accosted by panderers. In June 1906, the Railway Ministry issued a note calling on state and private railway officials to support governmental efforts.[92] The Vienna headquarters instructed local organs of public safety to pay close attention to descriptions of suspects provided to them in order to combat the trade in women. Underscoring the assumed connection between brothels and trafficking, local officials were also expected to provide Vienna with information on both brothel keepers in their purview and suspected traffickers who came from their region or were resident there.[93] Finally, police officials from the Vienna Police Directorate planned to maintain relationships with the concerned officials in other

[89] LPDW, PM, 1897–1899, Arnold Teuber's 28 June 1899 letter.

[90] Heinrich Grün, *Prostitution in Theorie und Wirklichkeit* (Vienna: J. Deubler, 1907), 20.

[91] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2122, 1108/08, Response to the decree of the k.k. Ministerium des Innern from Czernowitz, 24 December 1906.

[92] AST, LL, Atti generali, File 2408, Ministerium des Innern to k.k. Statthalter in Triest, 29 July 1905.

[93] AST, LL, Atti generali, File 2408, Ministerium des Innern to k.k. Statthalter in Triest, k.k. Küstenländische Statthaltereirat in Triest to k.k. Statthaltereirat in Triest, sämtliche Bezirkshauptmannschaften des Küstenlandes, an den Stadtmagistrat Rovigno, und an die k.k. Polizeidirektion in Triest, 9 July 1908.

countries as well as work with Austro-Hungarian diplomats and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.[94] They already corresponded regularly with police in other European capitals about suspected traffickers and victims, as well as with those in countries—Argentina, Brazil, the United States—to which they feared girls from the Monarchy had been moved.

The Ministry of Interior, Habsburg consular officials, police, and sometimes even foreign officials repeatedly warned of the dangers that "tempting offers" of employment abroad posed for women alone, because they were actually covers for prostitution. Voluntary rescue groups and some newspapers repeated these concerns, which seem not to have made it to the greater public or to have fallen on deaf ears. It is not clear that most, or even many, of the women and girls who went abroad seeking honest employment were trafficked or fell into prostitution after their arrival in foreign countries. At least some of them reported success in their chosen positions abroad, but others had to be "rescued" by voluntary organizations or aided by local consulates.

The police, sometimes with the aid of consular officials, investigated the people and organizations thought to lure girls abroad with the promise of work. Employment offices that promised desperate young women positions were sometimes a source of suspicion both inside the Monarchy and abroad, owing to the alleged connections of their owners to brothels and trafficking. According to one Ministry of Interior report sent to the provincial government in Trieste, an employment office in Alexandria, owned by Italian national Vincent di Gennaro, advertised his services in Austrian and Hungarian newspapers under the title "International Agentie Digennaro Attarine, Alexandria." According to the local Austro-Hungarian Consulate, di Gennaro was in reality trafficking women. Because there was legitimate concern that di Gennaro lured girls into vice under the pretext of offering them employment, officials at the Interior Ministry considered it advisable to inform young women of the danger he posed before they accepted any engagements he might offer.[95]

Offers of positions as "artistes" or dancers and in women's bands were long the focus of those seeking to combat trafficking. Anti-trafficking organizations regularly reported men representing themselves as conductors or musical impresarios and paying poor parents to take their children—male and female—to Constantinople or "somewhere in the Balkan states," where they actually ended up as beggar-musicians. If the children failed to bring in a certain amount of money, they were grossly abused. The boys regularly fell into poverty and criminality, the girls into prostitution.[96] The alleged "debauchery of innocent children" that Jo Doezema

[94] "Instruktion für die Zentralstelle zur Überwachung des Mädchenhandels in den im Reichsrate vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern," issued by the k.k. Statthalterei-Vizpräsident, Dörfl (n.d.); and k.k. Statthalterei in Böhmen to the k.k. Bezirkshauptmannschaft, 12 July 1905, Národní archiv (hereafter NA), Zemský úřad Praha-policejní a bezpečnostní záležitosti, pol. řed., Box 383; see also "Sammlung der für die Bekämpfung." The LPDW files for those charged with trafficking and pandering sometimes contain pictures of the accused as well as their fingerprints.

[95] AST, LL, Atti generali, File 2408, Ministerium des Innern to the k.k. Statthalter in Triest, 15 July 1905.

[96] *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 8 February 1903, 3.

describes as a "flashpoint for the British panic around white slavery" also attracted widespread attention in Austria.[97] Thus, musicians who engaged young women and girls to work abroad were generally distrusted as likely traffickers.

A 1906 letter from Czernowitz officials to the Ministry of Interior reflects the reason for continuing concern over women performing in bands abroad: the letter-writer asserts that some women who went to the Ottoman Empire performed in women's bands or worked at coffeehouses before and during their participation in prostitution. A 1908 report on the activities of the Czernowitz branch of the Liga supports this contention, mentioning the return of a Bukovinian-Romanian girl from Constanța, Romania where she had gone with a women's band, but had been forced to work as an *Animiermädchen*. The branch organization also noted that the head of Bukovina's provincial court had agreed to stop issuing passports to underage girls whose poverty-stricken parents, because of "naiveté" or "stupidity," were permitting them to go abroad with women's bands.[98] The report did not mention economic calculations on the parents' part, although there were regular allegations in the first decades of the twentieth century of parents conniving to get their daughters permission to go abroad, owing in part to economic incentive: the money they received from the band organizers.

In 1908, Viennese police and the Ministry of Interior sent recommendations that Triestine police warn parents who applied for passports for their minor daughters about the moral and physical dangers these girls might face in going abroad, especially going to East Asia, with suspect persons.[99] One such person was a bandleader from Bohemia who engaged underage girls to perform in the musical productions he organized in Siberia and East Asia. An employee claimed that the man was "given to drink," and mistreated band members. He and his wife were rumored to force band members to participate in sexual relations with audience members in the restaurants where they performed, but no proof was presented. The Ministry of Interior warned that another man whose possible job offers to underage girls were to be regarded with the "utmost suspicion" was Johann Zamecnik, also a native of Bohemia. Together with his wife, "a completely depraved individual" and prostitute, his son, and his three daughters, likewise prostitutes, Zamecnik was to be expelled from Adrianople in the eastern Thrace, because he and his family had caused "so much aggravation."[100]

[97] Doezema, *Sex Slaves and Discourse Masters*, 60.

[98] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2122, 1108/08, Response to the decree of the k.k. Ministerium des Innern from Czernowitz, 24 December 1906; and *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 9 February 1908, 5.

[99] See the arrest of an alleged theatre director from Berlin and his paramour, a prostitute from Prussian Poland, for offering girls positions as dancers and singers in his non-existent theater, LPDW, PM, 1897–1899; reports connecting female musicians, trafficking, and prostitution in *Gazeta Polska*, 28 September 1893, 3; also AST, LL, Atti generali, File 2408, k.k. Ministerium des Innern to k.k. Statthalterei in Triest, 3 July 1908.

[100] ZAO, ZVSO, Box 5199, k.k. Minister des Innern to Landesregierung in Troppau, 15 July 1908. In yet another case, in what seems to have been a case of guilt by association, parents were also to be warned against permitting their daughters to sign up for engagements with a Wilhelmine German "artiste" who had appeared in numerous shows in his home country, because his fiancé had been

Consular officials spent considerable time tracking down female immigrants and assuaging the fears of concerned family members whose daughters and other female relatives had gone abroad and not been heard from since. In 1911, one Paul Rössler, who was then living in Argentina, wrote the Habsburg consulate in Buenos Aires asking officials to intervene in a possible case of trafficking. Correspondence over the next few months reveals that a printer in Friedland, northern Bohemia, had helped Rössler's niece and another young woman arrange positions as maids at a German company headed by a Rudolf Berger in Santiago, Chile. Because the niece, who had been accompanied by a man from nearby Reichenberg to set sail from Hamburg, did not recognize the name of the destination port, Rössler became worried. The consulate responded on 19 September 1911 that the Berger in question was a former Austrian parliamentary deputy, now a merchant in Santiago, Chile. According to the consulate, Berger hired his servants from Austria and was certainly not involved in trafficking. As Rössler subsequently observed, confusion had arisen because his niece did not know that Santiago was in Chile rather than in Brazil.[101]

The reporting on a case in which a village teacher brought the alleged trafficker to officials' attention reflects both the adoption of stereotypes about Jews as traffickers and reveals non-Jews participating in the movement of girls. In May 1912, Austrian authorities arrested Vasile Grigoreanu, described in *Czernowitz Tagblatt* reports as "a simple farmer" rather than "a career trafficker" (code for an Eastern European Jew) on the Bukovinian-Romanian border. Grigoreanu, who really was a farmer, did not fit the stereotype of a "white slaver" in this part of the world. He was neither urban nor Jewish nor an outsider, but rather a trusted member of his community. He was accused of having made a lucrative business out of selling Romanian children—a total of eleven cases had been verified—from the Bukovinian village of Theodorestie to panderers in Romania. According to the newspaper, these poor girls' fathers had long since migrated abroad as agricultural workers. Grigoreanu had gained the trust of their mothers by giving them a few crowns and offering to get their daughters excellent positions in Romania. Grigoreanu then transported them over the border to work in Romanian brothels. He had already left four girls—two fifteen and two sixteen years of age—in a brothel. The village teacher realized what Grigoreanu was doing, and reported him. When Grigoreanu attempted to move an additional five girls to Romania using false passports, the Austrian border authorities apprehended him. When asked where they were going, the five girls reportedly said they did not know where this man whom they trusted was taking them.[102] The resolution to this case, like many others, did not appear in the newspaper.

As late as April 1914, the Austrian Ministry of Interior was informing the provincial governments that the number of unmarried women traveling to Egypt

arrested three times for begging and five times for theft. AST, LL, Atti generali, File 2408, k.k. Ministerium des Innern to the k.k. Statthalterei in Triest, 6 May 1909 and 18 April 1910.

[101] LPDW, PM, 1911, "Prostitution und Mädchenhandel."

[102] "Verhaftung eines Bukowina Mädchenhandlers an der rumänischen Grenze," *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 23 May 1912, 3.

was still growing. The Ministry noted that its investigations had shown that the majority of the women who went there did so believing they had secured employment. When they arrived, they fell victim to the intrigues of traffickers and became prostitutes, ending up in bodily and moral ruin. Upon their arrival in Egypt, procurers preyed upon these girls. In many cases, however, the Austrian counsel in Cairo was able to return young women who had sought work in Cairo to their homes in Austria.[103]

Concerns about white slaving continued in the years before the First World War, which would close borders among belligerents and cause a brief lull in the international traffic in women, as transoceanic immigration slowed to a trickle.[104] The issue took a back seat to the Habsburg military's obsession with home-front prostitution and the spread of venereal disease among soldiers in late summer 1914. Occasionally parents, worried over the disappearance of their daughters during wartime, contacted the police. Such was the case when fourteen-year-old Marie Zirnsag and her fifteen-year-old friend, both trained tailors, left their homes in Vienna on 22 July 1915. Almost two months after the girls' disappearance, Zirnsag's mother received a *Feldpostkarte* (postcard from the field) that her son who was in the military had sent the previous month, but which had a 12 September cancelation date from Görlitz, Saxony. The elder Zirnsag thought (hoped?) the postcard might have been in her daughter's possession, and that her daughter and her friend had been abducted to Görlitz and had sent the card as a sign they were safe. If there were any news of her daughter, the mother wrote, she would be glad to cover the costs of returning her to Vienna. Like so many other young women who disappeared, there was no record of a resolution.[105] Cases of young women who had reputedly been victims of traffickers long remained open, as with Marie Tyrlik, who disappeared in Teschen, Silesia while traveling from neighboring Prussian Silesia. In mid-1914 Tyrlik wrote from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania claiming that a woman had "bewitched" her, forcing her to go first to Hamburg, and then to the United States, where all trace of her was then lost. Police continued to investigate this case, and others like it, during and even after the First World War, in one of the lesser-known continuities in the late imperial and post-imperial history of Habsburg Central Europe.[106]

Tracing and rescuing alleged victims of international traffickers was difficult, time-consuming, and seldom successful. Inquiries and allegations of trafficking often produced ambiguous or unsatisfactory responses from officials in destination countries. Among these were that the person in question did not live there, that

[103] SOkAO, k.k. Mährische Statthalterei Brünn, Bekämpfung des Mädchenhandels nach Aegypten, 29 April 1914.

[104] Kaplan, "Prostitution, Morality Crusades and Feminism," 625; and Leslie Page Moch, *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650*, 2nd edn. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 160.

[105] LPDW, PM, 1915, Polizei-Direktion in Wien correspondence with Ministerium des Innern, Polizeiverwaltung in Görlitz, 15 September 1915.

[106] LPDW, PM, 1915, Polizei-Direktion in Wien correspondence with Ministerium des Innern, Polizeibehörde Hamburg, etc., 16 July 1914, 30 September 1915, 10 January 1918, 4 December 1919.

nothing negative was known about the person, or that the person was well respected and from a "good" family. Warnings to poor parents to be cautious about permitting their children to work abroad often went unheeded. Moreover, neither Austrian police nor those elsewhere in continental Europe could prevent the forced movement of girls and women in an era of wholesale movement of peoples. Finally, as some of the examples above demonstrate, the "victim" was sometimes not a victim at all.

TRIESTE'S VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS TO COMBAT TRAFFICKING

Increasingly organized opposition to prostitution, including regulated prostitution, and concern over the international dimensions of white slaving resonated in the various international conventions dedicated to the problem of white slaving that took place at the fin de siècle. Together with Brazil and eleven other European states, Austria and Hungary were signatories in Paris on 4 March 1910 to the International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic. The treaty went into effect in the Habsburg Monarchy on 8 February 1913. Paragraph 4 of the treaty obliged signatories to bring all of their relevant legislative measures into alignment with the treaty. As required by the treaty, for example, Austrian authorities sought to explain how requests from the courts of signatory countries would be brought to the attention of the relevant officials in other signatory countries.[107] Additional directives concerned the arrangement of employment abroad, including the engagement of female performers, measures for monitoring the railroads, and suggestions to women traveling alone to keep safe.[108] These measures built on earlier efforts to safeguard female travelers, but it was unclear how effective they were.

As elsewhere in the Monarchy, the Liga, supported by the city's "better circles," was the predominant anti-trafficking organization in Trieste. The most important and widespread of the religious and secular organizations formed to combat trafficking, the interdenominational Liga had long taken an active role in attempting to stop the trade in women and girls, including the early complaint about Regine Riehl's brothel. Althought the imperial government provided financial support, Liga members sought to gain community financial support for their undertakings. They depended on concerned citizens for confidential information about trafficking as well as for donations to their charitable activities, which included providing accommodations for "rescued" girls. They also depended on

[107] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 37569/1912, International Convention, betreff die Bekämpfung des Mädchenhandels; Gegenseitige Mitteilung der Gesetzes über die Bekämpfung des Mädchenhandels, 30 October 1912.

[108] "Sammlung der für die Bekämpfung des Mädchenhandels in Betracht kommenden österreichischen Gesetze, Verordnungen und Erlässe" (Vienna, October 1909); also ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2121, 8398/1913, Part I, Appendix for Britain, "Warnings to Girls. 'Forewarned Is Forearmed.'"

local newspapers for friendly coverage of their activities, and encouraged the police to follow up leads they provided. Among the Liga's first undertakings was establishing train-station missions for women and girls traveling alone. Indeed, it was the first organization to do so. As with other reform organizations, members sometimes aided vice police in tracking the activities of alleged traffickers who visited Austria, in order to prevent them from finding new girls for their brothels abroad and to trace the routes of white slavers and their victims. Liga members worked with similar organizations in the Monarchy and abroad. In addition to helping police track down known traffickers in Berlin, Budapest, and elsewhere, the Liga distributed rewards to people who helped identify traffickers.[109] Finally, members participated in the international conferences that dealt with stamping out this activity.

On the eve of the war, Trieste had seven aid organizations for women. The goal of these organizations was to help poor, jobless women and girls, "servants," by providing them shelter and protecting them from traffickers. Their functions overlapped, and they competed for funds. Among them were two Slovene groups, *Zavod Sv. Marte* and *Zavod Sv. Nikolaja* (Institutes of Saint Martha and Saint Nicholas). Both Slovene organizations sent specially trained women to meet all passenger trains arriving in Trieste. According to a police report from 1913, members sought to take into their charge any "inexperienced" girls—irrespective of their nationality or economic circumstances—who arrived in the port city alone, in order to prevent them from falling into a "reckless" life, that is, prostitution. While *Zavod Sv. Nikolaja* members tried to work with prostitutes, whom they very carefully watched, *Zavod Sv. Marte*, like most other rescue organizations across the continent, was unwilling to help women who had been registered as prostitutes. Members preferred to work with younger, less experienced women, who were "more amenable to reform."[110] Similar to the Liga—which had earlier housed tolerated prostitutes, but now did so only occasionally at the request of police, because of the difficulties such women caused—*Zavod Sv. Marte* was more interested in safeguarding girls' morals and preventing them from becoming prostitutes. (Local police speculated that one reason for the Liga's shift in attitude was likely to have been the city hall's withdrawal some two years earlier of a 1,000-crown annual subvention.)[111]

While many Liga members were upstanding citizens, not all Triestine organization officials were, perhaps helping to account for the city's bad reputation among reformers. At least one official had formerly been part of the world from which Liga members sought to protect their charges. The forty-year-old Triestine Mario Rustia

[109] *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 5 July 1904, 4.

[110] AST, LL, Atti generali, 2423, Polizei Directions Präsidium to k.k. Staathalterei, 26 January 1913. On "amenability to reformation," Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, 17. ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2122, Erlaß des Ministereiums des Innern, 24 September 1912. On the work of the Triestine branch of the Vienna-based Liga, see *Società d'assistenza e protezione femminile. Lega contro la tratta delle bianche, Relazione sulla attività sociale degli anni 1910–11* (Trieste: Editrice la "Società d'assistenza," 1912).

[111] AST, LL, Atti generali, File 2423, Polizei Directions Präsidium to k.k. Staathalterei in Triest, 26 January 1913.

had for several years been the secretary-trustee of the Trieste branch of the Liga secretariat, and he was a paid consultant for the organization for another a year and a half until he "was removed from the organization" in 1910 following disagreements with its local head.[112] The following year he founded a competing organization, the *Società per il sanamento e la vigilanza della prostituzione* (Society for the rehabilitation and supervision of prostitution), which he served as secretary. Rustia was also involved with the local demimonde, and had, according to the police, a bad reputation. He had been charged with offering to intercede with the authorities on behalf of a local brothel owner in 1906, and sued for libel in connection with the charges, but later withdrew his complaint. Rustia had also been fined in 1908 because he claimed that a former prostitute with whom he was then living was his wife.

Predominantly female volunteer organizations played an important preventative role in the Habsburg scheme of combating trafficking, just as they did in combating prostitution, by stopping the forced movement of some women. Organizations with sufficient resources also provided rescued women and girls with housing and, when possible, employment, insofar as those rescued were willing to adopt bourgeois values.

VICTIMS, WILLING PARTICIPANTS OR BOTH?

Even before the turn of the century, sensationalist newspapers not only in Vienna but also in the provinces encouraged the popular perception of young, innocent, and poor girls falling into the hands of *Seelenräuber* (soul thieves) and disappearing into brothels within the empire or abroad, never to be seen again. Newspapers sometimes claimed, often without evidence, that girls who had run away or otherwise disappeared, and were then presumed dead by accident or suicide, were in fact victims of traffickers and being held in "prisons of shame," that is, brothels abroad.[113] The reality was somewhat different: at least some of the women and girls who traveled abroad to participate in commercial sex were not "innocent," and their movement was a conscious economic decision.

Among the local newspaper reports on so-called seasoned traffickers, however, were sometimes people traveling with young women whose motivations were altogether different. In a 1903 case widely publicized in Polish-language newspapers, the accused "trafficker," a twenty-two-year-old tailor's assistant from Stanislau, Galicia, had been arrested boarding a train with a fifteen-year-old girl, who turned out to be his girlfriend. It came out in court that the pair were attempting to run away to Switzerland, where he was apprenticing, because her

[112] LPDW, PM, 1911, Liga to the k.k. Polizei-Direktion, June 11.

[113] "Torhovlya divchatamu," *Bukovyna*, 30 November 1909, 3; "Zwei verschwundene Mädchen," *Wiener Kriminal- und Detektiv-Zeitung*, 26 November 1907; "Von Mädchenhändlern entführt?," *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 6 September 1911, 3; and "Zniknięcie," *Przyjaciel sług*, 5 (1 June 1902): 92. I thank Keely Stauter-Halsted for providing me the material from *Przyjaciel sług*.

stepmother was forcing her to marry someone, a railway employee with "more standing" than her tailor's apprentice. The young man was tried, convicted, and received a three-month sentence for kidnapping the girl from her parents' home.[114] This was far more a Romeo and Juliet tale of star-crossed lovers than one of trafficking.

While the rumors about "lost girls" that appeared in the press were largely absent from regional and imperial police records, the files do contain occasional letters from parents desperately searching for missing daughters who had simply left home, some of them having perhaps been lured into brothels or gone of their own accord. There were certainly cautionary tales in both the official records and the press of young girls eluding traffickers, and thus escaping an uncertain fate abroad. In one turn-of-the-century case, a man named Markus Lichtental found two "pretty" Galician girls that he was taking to work in Czernowitz. While traveling by rail with him toward that city, one of the girls had second thoughts and left the train at Kolomea, in southeastern Galicia. The second girl spoke with the train's conductor, who called a policeman at the nearby Delatyn station, about 100 kilometers west of Czernowitz. The policeman recognized Lichtental, and "knew" he was taking the girl not to the Bukovinian capital but rather to a "coffeehouse" in Constantinople, where the girls "had to be pretty."[115] Again, the trail appears to have gone cold with this report.

Another tale of escape originated in southern Moravia, a province seldom associated with trafficking. Anna Paul's sister reported the sixteen-year-old factory worker missing from Iglau in summer 1912. The teenager reappeared in Hamburg in late August. According to Paul, she had met an Anton Gödl, whom she described as tall, in his mid-twenties, with black hair and an English-style mustache, and speaking a Saxon dialect. When she complained to him about the lack of well-paying positions locally and mentioned her willingness to travel to find employment, he told her that he knew of a city where he could get her a good post. She had forgotten the name, but it was "somewhere in South America." Gödl, she claimed, had given her money and instructed her to take the train to Dresden on 18 August 1912, saying he would meet her at the station. The two did meet, spending the night in Dresden before traveling to Hamburg. It was there that Paul's doubts about Gödl's offer increased, so she fled, making her way to the Hamburg *Mädchenheim* (residence for girls) and subsequently the Austro-Hungarian consulate, from which she was returned to Moravia.[116] This incident reveals another poor girl being preyed upon by a "foreign" (Wilhelmine German) man and, in her recounting of events, narrowly escaping being trafficked abroad. It also reveals a young girl who, like Taube Schiwek, recklessly left her family for the promise of a better life.

Habsburg citizens living overseas who returned to the Monarchy and attempted to engage girls and young women for female bands abroad were among the

[114] *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 27 November 1903, 3.
[115] "W areszcie delatyńskim," *Przyjaciel sług* 1 (5 January 1902): 13.
[116] Státní okresní archiv České Budějovice (hereafter SOkAČB), PÚ, Box 127, PM, Spisy 1081–1086, Rundschreiben from the Polizeigeschäftsleitung Iglau, 6 September 1912.

prospective employers of poor women who became the targets of police scrutiny. This was the case in the August 1905 arrests in Radautz, Bukovina of two "well-dressed women": Mizze Huß of Alexandria, formerly of Czernowitz, and her sister, Etty Schmidt of Czernowitz, who had hired three girls for a female band three years earlier. Local police took the two into custody as they were negotiating to hire three additional girls at monthly salaries of 200 crowns. The police soon determined that local girls previously hired by the two women had written their relatives in Radautz they were pleased with their positions. The two women were still turned over to the court and an investigation was undertaken. Schmidt was released the following day, but Huß was detained. Hoping for a quick resolution to the case, Huß requested that the case be turned over to the district court in Suczawa. Again, the story disappears from the record.[117]

Reformers considered these girls to be victims of white slavers, "women and girls who were lured, tricked or forced to go abroad by traffickers who sold them into prostitution."[118] Some officials noted that women charged with prostitution sometimes lied about their situation, claiming they had voluntarily taken up the trade, in order to protect the men responsible for trafficking them. The situation was more complicated, however. What are we to make, for example, of the girls from Bukovina whose parents had themselves led their daughters to prostitution and enabled their migration to the Ottoman Empire so that they could benefit from their daughters' earnings, as one provincial official alleged? As another reported, such people were encouraged by the return to Bukovina of brothel keepers and prostitutes who lived in luxury during their visits.[119]

Another provincial official reported that as a rule the women who went to East Asia to work as prostitutes had already been involved in the trade, and went abroad of their own volition for economic reasons. The remarks of Golda Praeger, who hailed from Zborow in Galicia, appear to confirm this official's assertion. According to her 1906 testimony at the Austro-Hungarian Consulate in Constantinople, she had been registered as a prostitute in Lemberg, but left that city in October 1905. She then traveled to Constantinople of her own accord, where she registered in a brothel under the name "Maria."[120] In a statement made the following February at the Austrian Consulate in the same city, another Galician-born prostitute, Peppi Beiner, claimed to have been a prostitute in Budapest for six years when she decided she wanted to improve her living situation. She thus "borrowed" one Karoline Merczel's passport, going to Constantinople at the instigation of an unnamed friend who worked in a brothel there, to earn more money.[121]

[117] "Unter dem Verdachte des Mädchenhandels," *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 17 August 1905, 5; and "Mädchenhandel," *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 20 August 1905, 5.

[118] Kaplan, "Prostitution, Morality Crusades and Feminism," 619.

[119] ÖStA, MdI, Allg, AVA, MP, Box 2122, 1108/08, Response to the decree of the k.k. Ministerium des Innern from Czernowitz, 24 December 1906.

[120] LPDW, PM, 1906/2, This information is contained in the file on Lea/Loti Holz, a registered prostitute who spent several years in Ottoman Turkey before returning to Galicia, where her parents lived and where police suspected her of pandering.

[121] LPDW, PM, Box 1906/1, Protokoll aufgen. im k.k. Konsulate in Konstantinopel, 9 February 1906.

There is significant anecdotal evidence to support the conclusion that at least some European women who engaged in sex work abroad were not trafficking victims. They could, in fact, be labeled "sexual migrants." Rejecting the key assumption in anti-trafficking discourse, that European women taken to foreign lands needed to be "saved," Ashwini Tambe asserts that European prostitutes in Bombay repeatedly resisted "rescue," while Philippa Levine has described British officials' reports on European women they interviewed in turn-of-the-century Asian colonial brothels. Their comments also countered popular trafficking narratives.[122] The testimonies of prostitutes "Maria" and Peppi Beiner depict women who made their own economic choices about where to practice commercial sex. They contradict the popular perception of traffickers corrupting innocent girls, and call into question bourgeois reformers' and the government's need to intervene.

CONCLUSION

Despite the popular turn-of-the-century representations of unscrupulous Jewish traffickers moving "innocent" European girls abroad against their will to toil in foreign brothels, the reality in late imperial Austria was more convoluted. Many of the alleged traffickers reported to the Viennese Police Directorate or identified by sources abroad, including Austro-Hungarian diplomats, were Jews who came originally from Bukovina, Galicia, Romania, and Russia. The apparent prevalence of Eastern European Jews among traffickers attracted the attention both of anti-Semites, who condemned their participation in the trade as another indication of flawed Jewish character, and of Jewish reform groups, whose campaigns against trafficking were a direct response to this Jewish participation. Neither all of the women and girls taken abroad nor all of those who moved them were Jewish, however. As police records and newspaper reports demonstrate, the religion or ethnicity of the trafficker often corresponded to the location from which the women were trafficked. Examination of white slaving in fin-de-siècle Austria also reveals that women—not only brothel madams—were involved in exploiting other women. As the Riehl trial showed, some traded and sold women, including their own daughters.[123]

Finding—and rescuing—alleged victims of international sex traffickers could be difficult. Although the search might continue for years, girls assumed to have been victims of transoceanic traffickers often could not be found. Sometimes there was confirmation that a missing girl had been on board a ship that arrived safely at its overseas destination, or there was even one last letter from the unfortunate. In some cases, police correspondence established that the alleged traffickers were in fact

[122] Ashwini Tambe, "The Elusive Ingénue: A Transnational Feminist Analysis of European Prostitution in Colonial Bombay," *Gender & Society* 19/2 (April 2005): 71; and Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 241–2.

[123] See for example *Gazeta Polska*, 11 December 1893, 3; and 11 February 1909, 3.

upstanding citizens who were in no way involved in trafficking and who really had hired the girls in question to work for them as domestics in their home countries. In others, the name of the alleged traffickers could not be matched to the location. Providing misspelled or incorrect names, or nicknames, as often happened, further complicated searches.

Concern that young women from the Monarchy were being forced into prostitution in exotic locales helped fuel governmental and voluntary efforts to "rescue" these women. Yet according to their own testimonies, some of the women neither wanted nor needed rescuing. Reflecting their increased mobility at the turn of the century, women had gone abroad on their own initiative, including to work as prostitutes. Moreover, the evidence demonstrates that at least some poor families, often rural, many Jewish, encouraged girls to accept questionable offers of marriage, while other parents of all confessions encouraged their daughters (and sometimes their sons) to accept problematic employment abroad in the hope of their own economic gain.

The movement of poor, uneducated women and girls, especially from Bukovina, Galicia, and other rural provinces, coerced or voluntary, some in response to marriage proposals and others in search of employment, was an element of growing industrialization, modernization, and urbanization, as some contemporaries recognized. Greater mobility, including large-scale emigration from the two eastern provinces as well as from the Austrian Littoral, facilitated by expanding rail and shipping routes, better roads, and greater anonymity in the growing cities, enabled the increased movement of women.[124] Fears about trafficking in women also mirrored numerous, sometimes conflicting popular and political issues that were part of contemporary discourse on prostitution itself. The expanding public sphere provided greater possibilities both for increasing the panic over trafficking, and for resolving it.

[124] Annemarie Steidl, Engelbert Stockhammer, and Hermann Zeitlhofer, "Relations among Internal, Continental, and Transatlantic Migration in Late Imperial Austria," *Social Science History* 31/1 (2007): 61–92; and Tara Zahra, "Travel Agents on Trial: Policing Mobility in Late Imperial Austria," *Past & Present* 223 (May 2014): 161–93.

7

Morals and Morale during the Great War

> Yesterday the police undertook a raid at the railway stations.
> They stopped forty-seven people, most of them vagrants and prostitutes.
>
> *Prager Abendblatt*, 10 November 1917[1]

> At two o'clock in the morning of 28 November,
> the local watch arrested two deserters in the brothel on Badgasse.
>
> *Tages-Post*, 19 November 1917[2]

The First World War had a great impact on sexual practices across Europe. Reshaping the landscape of urban life in the Monarchy, it disrupted traditional constraints as well as communal and familial monitoring mechanisms, accelerating longer-term trends, including greater sexual equality.[3] Moral standards had been changing even before the war's outbreak, with many bourgeois men and some one-half of bourgeois women having sexual experiences before marriage, a development that the war exacerbated.[4] Despite increasing military control over the civilian realm, the social upheaval caused by the war provided more space—including barracks and military parade grounds—in all belligerent countries for casual, non-marital, sometimes commercial sexual transactions. The war also offered additional possibilities in occupied territories for clandestine prostitutes, including "field, forest, and meadow whores," to offer their sexual services to the large number of men gathered there.[5] These new experiences, reflecting a decline in

[1] "Auf dem Staatsbahnhöfe nahm die Polizei gestern eine Streifung vor und hielt 47 Personen, zumeist Vagranten und Prostituierte . . . ," *Prager Abendblatt*, 10 November 1917, 2.

[2] "In der Nacht zum 28. d. M. um 2 Uhr früh verhafteten hiesige Wachorgane im Bordell in der Badgasse die beiden Deserteure . . . ," *Tages-Post*, 29 November 1917, 2.

[3] Peter Baldwin, *Contagion and the State in Europe, 1830–1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999),455; Dagmar Herzog, *Sexuality in Europe: A Twentieth-Century History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 47; Mary Louise Roberts, *Civilization without Sex: Reconstructing Gender in Postwar France, 1917–1927* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); and Lutz D.H. Sauerteig, "Sex, Medicine, and Morality during the First World War," in *War, Medicine, and Modernity*, eds. Roger Cooter et al. (Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1998), 167.

[4] Herzog, *Sexuality in Europe*, 45; and citing a 1914 survey, Mirjam Triendl-Zadoff, *Nächstes Jahr in Marienbad: Gegenwelten jüdischer Kulturen der Moderne* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), 108.

[5] Moritz Sattler, "Zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten im Heere," *Der Militärarzt* 24/50 (28 October 1916): 563; also Albert Neisser, "Der Krieg und die Geschlechtskrankheiten" (Politische Flugschriften) (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1915), 11; and Tamara Scheer, "Austro-Hungarian Occupation Regimes in the Balkans (1915–1918): Organizing the 'Health Front,'" in *Medicine within and between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, 18th–19th Centuries*, ed. Teodora Daniela Sechel (Bochum: Winkler Verlag, 2011), 228–9.

"civil-sexual morality," also opened up opportunities for further spread of venereal disease owing to the anonymity and mass mobility the war facilitated.

Beginning in summer 1914, police in Vienna and elsewhere reported an increase in the dangerous mixing of the Monarchy's fighting forces with alcohol and women of doubtful reputation. They described drunken soldiers, many of whom kept company with women presumed to be prostitutes. Records from the early months of the war are filled with tales of convalescing soldiers in taverns and cafés until the wee hours, a situation that showed no signs of abating. During the first two weeks of August, soldiers flocked to the taverns of the Prater in the evening, while the meadows along the Danube were filled with lovers. The male was usually a soldier, the female, a prostitute. The beautiful weather was favorable for such conditions, which were similar in the capitals and larger cities of the provinces. The consequences were inevitable: many of the soldiers in the first wartime medical transports returning to Vienna, which welcoming committees received so solemnly, included men who had been wounded not by "the weapons of Mars" (guns), but by those of Venus (prostitutes with VD). The development of their diseases indicated that the soldiers had been infected in early August.[6] Civilian police expected that expanded military presence would help lessen soldiers' excesses and ease the situation. Their expectations were soon dashed.

The war rendered more visible people from a variety of categories not previously seen in public on a large scale in much of the Monarchy. They were soldiers, mobilizing, convalescing, or on leave; women alone, among them newly employed "single" women who might be widows or women whose husbands were at the front; and "foreign," often Jewish, women who had fled the hostilities on the Eastern Front as Bukovina and Galicia repeatedly changed hands. These refugees began flooding not only the cities of Cisleithanian Austria but also smaller communities in the Bohemian Lands as well as Upper and Lower Austria soon after the war's outbreak.[7]

This chapter examines the explosion of clandestine prostitution and the virtual collapse of regulated prostitution in the Monarchy, both owing to the economic privation of wartime, as part of everyday life on the home front. The state increasingly read female immorality as treason, but attempts to monitor "deviant" female behavior more closely did not result in more effective control. Joint military-civilian efforts were little help in closely overseeing regulated prostitutes, restricting the activities of clandestine prostitutes, or slowing the spread of venereal disease, thereby revealing limits of state and social control in Austria during the Great War.

[6] Ernst Finger, "Die Geschlechtskrankheiten und der Krieg," *Wiener Klinische Wochenschrift* 45 (15 November 1914): 1445–6.

[7] *Feldkircher Anzeiger*, 17 October 1914, 2; and Triendl-Zadoff, *Nächstes Jahr in Marienbad*, 122–4. In autumn 1914, between fifty and seventy thousand Polish and Yiddish-speaking refugees arrived from Bukovina and Galicia on the Eastern Front, and refugees evacuated from areas behind the Italian front followed the next year, according to Maureen Healy, "Becoming Austrian: Women, the State, and Citizenship in World War I," *Central European History* 35/1 (2002): 4. On Galician Jewish refugees in Vienna, see David Rechter, *The Jews of Vienna and the First World War* (London: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2001). On allegations of Russian troops raping Jewish and other women and girls in occupied Bukovina, see J.C. Brunner, *Illustrierte Sittengeschichte. Krieg und Geschlechtsleben* (Frankfurt: Delius, 1922), 81–2.

The history of wartime prostitution, when considered together with the dual threats the Habsburg authorities faced—losing the war, and the toppling of the old aristocratic/bourgeois social order—illuminates the limits of the state's powers to intervene into and control society under the conditions of total war.[8]

THE MORAL LANDSCAPE OF THE HOME FRONT

Men and women alike participated in "immoral" behavior on the home front. It was a site both of predominantly "male" infractions, including shirking and large-scale profiteering as well as carousing with prostitutes, drunkenness, and violence, and predominantly "female" transgressions, many associated with sexuality. Charges leveled against women included requesting and/or performing illegal abortions, the number of which grew during wartime; engaging in clandestine prostitution; running informal brothels; even "selling" younger female family members into prostitution.[9] Gender difference was embedded in this home-front narrative, in which drunken soldiers, mobilizing, on leave, convalescing from wartime injuries, or possessing comfortable positions far behind the lines, frolicked with prostitutes. In these men's absence, their wives—*Strohwitwen*, so-called "straw widows" (Illustration 7.1)—had extramarital relations, sometimes as a result of their straitened economic circumstances. In the home-front narrative, women identified as prostitutes were sometimes assumed to be politically suspect or even spies.

Civilians joined the police, the military, and other authorities in attempting to maintain public order.[10] Denunciations of female moral turpitude expanded in wartime Austria. To be sure, some of the complaints were also directed at the sexual peccadilloes of the troops who were quartered among the civilians, but most scapegoated women. The targets were often the women who stepped outside assigned bourgeois gender roles, thus evading ever more stringent social control. Prostitution was the most common—but certainly not the only—female morals problem to preoccupy the police and the military during the Great War. Civilian and military authorities alike treated prostitutes, and other women thought to be engaging in commercial sex, as dangerous vectors of venereal disease.[11]

[8] Some of the material discussed in this chapter has appeared in different form in Nancy M. Wingfield, "The Enemy Within: Regulating Prostitution and Controlling Venereal Disease in Cisleithanian Austria during the Great War," *Central European History* 46/3 (September 2013): 468–98.

[9] NA, Ministerstvo zdravotnictví, Box 9: Government officials blamed midwives for the rise in illegal abortions; k.k. Statthalterei in Böhmen to k.k. Ministerium des Innern, 9 November 1915; and Schles. Landessanitätsrat, "Gutachten über das Anwachsen der Abortusfälle, erstattet am 14. März 1918."

[10] On policing and public order, see Peter Holquist, "'Information is the Alpha and Omega of Our Work': Bolshevik Surveillance in Its Pan-European Context," *Journal of Modern History* 69/3 (September 1997): 415–50; Hsi-Huey Liang, *The Rise of Modern Police and the European State System from Metternich to the Second World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); and Alf Lüdtke et al., eds., *Polizei, Gewalt und Staat im 20. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2011).

[11] Women, especially promiscuous women, have long been the source of syphilis in the popular imagination. Mary Spongberg, *Feminizing Venereal Disease: The Body of the Prostitute in Nineteenth-Century Medical Discourse* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 1–2, 4.

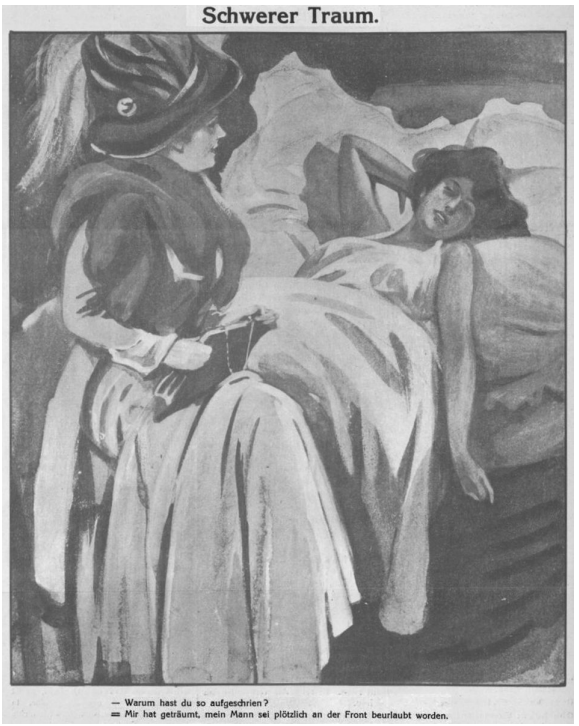


Illustration 7.1. "Nightmare," from *Wiener Caricaturen*, 28 November 1915, p. 4, ÖNB/Vienna. Caption below: —"Why did you shriek so?" —"I dreamt my husband who's at the front was suddenly given leave."

In addition to the tolerated prostitutes, who had increasing mobility within and between the cities where they were registered during wartime, and whom the military considered a major source of venereal disease, local and regional authorities as well as the military focused almost obsessively on the "imminent danger" that other "enemies" behind the lines and on the home front represented.[12] Vice police, the military, and civilians took action against those women they viewed as violating standards of contemporary propriety, above all by practicing, or being suspected of practicing, clandestine prostitution. They were the same women, many young, often poor, unemployed, or hailing from the same low-wage positions long assumed to supply Austria's clandestine prostitutes: barmaids, buffet servers, cashiers, and servants.[13] Suspects also included national or racial Others, women who often

[12] See F. Veress, "Die Behandlung der geschlechtskranken Soldaten im Felde," *Der Militärarzt* 17/50 (1 July 1916): 333–36; and more generally, Clara E. Councell, "War and Infectious Disease," *Public Health Reports* 56/12 (21 March 1941): 547–73. Státní okresní archiv Liberec (hereafter SOkAL), k.k. Statthalterei für das Königreich Böhmen (signed k.k. Statthalter: Coudenhove), Runderlaß, Prague, 26 November 1916.

[13] Working-class female sexuality in urban environments was the object of surveillance and stereotyping among European health and police authorities, according to Roger Davidson and

lived on the margins of society and for whom the exigencies of war rendered their already difficult lives even more arduous.

Clandestine prostitutes continued to ply their trade on the streets, in parks, bars, pubs, nightclubs, *Stundenhotels*, and, in the war's last years, even the better hotels.[14] Police caught large numbers of clandestine prostitutes with venereal disease in their raids. In Vienna alone, they picked up 1,087 women between 1 April and 1 October 1916.[15] Increasingly any woman or girl—some as young as fourteen—seen in the company of soldiers, including officers, might be subject to accusations of leading an "immoral life"; arrested, sometimes repeatedly, as a suspected prostitute; obliged to undergo examination at the hands of police physicians; and ordered to hospital for treatment if infected.

It was less clear during wartime precisely who was selling sex than it had been during peacetime, owing to the breakdown in civilian society and the resultant rise in the numbers of women who appeared on the streets with men who were not their fathers or husbands. There was also an increase in women, who, as a result of economic hardship, occasionally or regularly exchanged sex for goods or money.

THE MILITARY'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST PROSTITUTION AND VENEREAL DISEASE

Expanding state control of cultural, economic, and social life in imperial Austria accompanied the advent of the war.[16] The army, with its large presence in all provinces, was the most important pan-monarchical institution in Austria-Hungary.

Lesley A. Hall, "Introduction," in *Sex, Sin, and Suffering: Venereal Disease and European Society since 1870* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 10. As topic of concern during wartime, see Adam Hodges, "'Enemy Aliens' and 'Silk Stocking Girls': The Class Politics of Internment in the Drive for Urban Order during World War I," *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 6/4 (Oct. 2007): 431–58; Courtney Q. Shag, "'Against Their Own Weakness': Policing Sexuality and Women in San Antonio, Texas, during World War I," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 19/3 (Sept. 2010): 458–82; and Angela Woolacott, "'Khaki Fever' and Its Control: Gender, Class, Age and Sexual Morality on the British Homefront during the First World War," *Journal of Contemporary History* 29/2 (April 1994): 325–47. Female sexuality remained an object of surveillance and stereotyping during the Second World War. See for example Marilyn E. Hegarty, *Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes: The Regulation of Female Sexuality during World War II* (New York: New York University Press, 2008).

[14] LPDW, "Beilage zum Stimmungsbericht vom 9. März 1916," shows Viennese vice police concerns about increased use of *Stundenhotels* by women whose boyfriends and husbands had been mobilized.

[15] Archiv der Republik, Bundesministerium für soziale Verwaltung, Volksgesundheit/Präsidium, 1918, k.k. Polizeidirektion in Wien to k.k. n.oe. Statthalter in Wien, 1 October 1916.

[16] Important publications on the Habsburg home fronts include Christa Hämmerle, *Heimat/Front Geschlechtergeschichte/n des Ersten Weltkriegs in Österreich-Ungarn* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2014); Maureen Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Rudolf Kučera, *Život na přídělˊ: Válečná každodennost a politiky dělnické třídy v českých zemích 1914–1918* (Prague: Nakladelství lidové noviny, 2013); and Hermann J.W. Kuprian and Oswald Überegger, eds., *Katastrophenjahre: Der Erste Weltkrieg und Tirol* (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 2014). See also Tamara Scheer and Nancy M. Wingfield, eds., "Habsburg Home Fronts during the Great World War," special issue of *European Review of History/ Revue européenne d'histoire* 24/2 (2017).

Following the war's outbreak in August 1914, the AOK aggressively broadened its influence throughout the civilian realm. The dissolution of the Austrian parliament in spring 1914—it would reconvene only in May 1917—helped to facilitate this.[17] Indeed, the AOK had extensive powers not only in the field but also in the so-called operational zones, which eventually covered most of Austria (the "warfare state").[18]

The Habsburg military was interested in public morals and public health only insofar as they affected its soldiers' ability to fight.[19] The rise in venereal disease rates among the rank and file after the war's outbreak in 1914 alarmed Habsburg military physicians, a preoccupation evidenced by the topic's frequent appearance in official correspondence and medical journals.[20] The greater participation of the military in the twin battle against prostitution and VD did not mean that consistent control was achieved over these women's bodies, which civilians and military alike considered diseased, nor that the diffusion of venereal disease was consistently staunched. The number of VD cases grew exponentially during the war, spreading to previously unaffected populations.[21]

Together with the civilian government, the military sought to stem the "loss of warriors" whom venereal disease had left unfit to serve, lessening the number of soldiers available and weakening the fighting force. There had been earlier calls to hold men responsible for contracting venereal disease, but the Great War marks the first time that Habsburg authorities, in regulating society for the purposes of

[17] On the Habsburg state, see for example John W. Boyer, *Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna: Origins of the Christian Social Movement, 1848–1897* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Laurence Cole and Daniel Unowsky, eds., *The Limits of Loyalty: Imperial Symbolism, Popular Allegiances, and State Patriotism in the Late Habsburg Monarchy* (New York: Berghahn, 2007); John Deak, *Forging a Multinational State: State Making in Imperial Austria from the Enlightenment to the First World War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015); William D. Godsey, Jr., *Aristocratic Redoubt: The Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office on the Eve of the First World War* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 1999); Waltraud Heindl, *Gehorsame Rebellen. Bürokratie und Beamte in Österreich 1780 bis 1848* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1991); Pieter M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016); and Robert Luft, "Die Zivilgesellschaft im zisleithanischen Teil der Habsburgermonarchie bis 1914," in *Zivilgesellschaft im östlichen und südöstlichen Europa in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, eds. Jörg Hackmann and Klaus Roth (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2011), 189–215.

[18] On the complicated organizational and command structure of the joint army, including its relationship with the *Landwehr* and *Honvéd*, see ÖStA, KA, Bestand Impressen, Box 478, Dienstbücher E-35 bis E-53, Vorschrift für die Höheren Kommandos der Armee im Felde, 1st edn. (Vienna: n.p., 1913); István Deák, *Beyond Nationalism: A Social and Political History of the Habsburg Officer Corps, 1948–1918* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 18, 19; and Erwin A. Schmidl, *Juden in der k. (u.) k. Armee 1788–1918* (Eisenstadt: Österreichisches Jüdisches Museum, 1989), 119. On wartime military autocracy, see Jonathan E. Gumz, *The Resurrection and Collapse of Empire in Habsburg Serbia, 1914–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 15–16.

[19] The peacetime strength of the Austro-Hungarian Armed Forces was 450,000, excluding the reserves (roughly 1.4 million with reserves), according to John Ellis and Michael Cox, *The World War I Databook: The Essential Facts and Figures for All the Combatants* (London: Aurum Press, 2001), 245.

[20] The number of venereal disease cases among members of the military far outstripped all estimates, according to Veress, "Die Behandlung der geschlechtskranken Soldaten im Felde," 333–4.

[21] The Medical Chief of the k.k. Army High Command during wartime, Johann Steiner, noted that despite the military's best efforts, venereal disease was more widespread during the war than previously; Johann Steiner, "Der Militärärztliche Dienst des österreichisch-ungarischen Heeres während des Weltkrieges im Hinterlande und bei der Armee im Felde," in Clemens Pirquet, ed., *Volksgesundheit im Krieg* (Vienna: Carnegie-Stiftung für Internationalen Frieden, 1926), 103.

military strength, broadened their focus from controlling only women's bodies to include limited focus on male bodies—the military rank and file and some industrial workers—in their battle. Such policies were part of a European-wide shift in the way such diseases were handled, although many Austrian military and civilian authorities remained resistant to recognizing that male consumers of commercial sex bore responsibility for the spread of disease, and holding them accountable.

In addition to concerns such as combat losses, shortage of weaponry and parts, as well as other supplies, prisoner-of-war transfers, and growing numbers of refugees, the imperial government progressively intervened in issues of home-front life: not only provisions and wage work, increasingly undertaken by women, but also how residents dressed, what they ate, and what constituted their leisure. As Maureen Healy has argued, "no action or deed was too small or insignificant to be considered a matter of state."[22] Venereal disease played an important role in military intervention in civilian life, especially police regulation of prostitution. The search for clandestine prostitutes, whom vice police were urgently instructed to register when apprehended, and the tighter regulation of registered prostitutes kept police busy during wartime. Military-state inability to control prostitution and prevent the spread of VD was among the indicators of societal and state breakdown in Austria under the exigencies of total war.

In contrast to the badly wounded soldier, who might lose his health and often the possibility of future employment but posed no danger to those around him, the syphilitic soldier endangered not only himself but also his family. And treating venereal disease remained costly, often ineffective, and even dangerous. Therefore, Habsburg military physicians sought to instruct the 7.8 million mobilized men on how to protect themselves against VD, to ascertain where the soldiers had been when they became infected, and with which disease; and to then heal soldiers, or at least enable them to return to combat. These physicians' proposals for lowering rates might differ but they invariably addressed the need to control the women who exchanged sex for remuneration. Some argued that men "in the best years of life" engaging in extramarital sexual intercourse was understandable if not entirely excusable, not least because soldiers received limited leave. Others, like Lord Horatio Herbert Kitchener, the British field marshal who in 1914 demanded sexual abstinence of men in the Expeditionary Forces, asserted that male chastity was the safest route, especially in belligerent territory where, as one Habsburg military physician proclaimed, "strange, unknown, in part racially foreign and hostile peoples" were afflicted with "all possible venereal diseases."[23] This language,

[22] Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire*, 3.

[23] F. Veress, "Die Behandlung der geschlechtskranken Soldaten im Felde," 333. By summer and autumn 1915, the Habsburg army, with the support of Germany, had occupied parts of Russian Poland as well as Serbia, and in early 1916, Montenegro. On Habsburg occupation policies, see Tamara Scheer, "Etappenliebe: Belgrad, Cetinje und Lublin unter österreichisch-ungarischer Besatzungsmacht im Ersten Weltkrieg," *Medizin, Gesellschaft und Geschichte* 34 (2015): 35–63; Tamara Scheer, *Zwischen Front und Heimat. Österreich-Ungarns Militärverwaltungen im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang GmbH, 2009); and Hugo Kerschnawe et al., *Die*

which explicitly connected venereal disease with race and the "Enemy," further stigmatized prostitutes, especially Jews and Slavs.[24]

Habsburg military authorities assumed that soldiers would visit prostitutes, whom many civilian and military leaders alike continued to consider a necessary evil. They sought tight control of prostitutes' bodies to protect soldiers from infection. The military thus created field brothels, organized by rank, and clinics for enlisted men in an effort to limit venereal disease. Brothels were also opened in occupied territory. There were four Habsburg military brothels in occupied Belgrade: one for the officers, two for the troops, and one for civilians, each housing an average of eight prostitutes.[25] Brothel visits included obligatory pre-coitus preventive examinations of men and personal measures post-coitus.[26]

The authorities and the public alike condemned "shirking" among the ranks. They worried that soldiers might deliberately permit themselves to become infected to avoid their military obligations. Already in the first year of the war, political organizations like the *Christlichsoziale Landesparteileitung* (Christian Social provincial party leadership) in German-speaking northern Bohemia protested the number of healthy young recruits and officers who had contracted venereal disease during military service. This group complained about tolerated brothels near barracks and "immigrant" prostitutes who had the audacity to stuff notes containing propositions for sexual intercourse and "shameless seduction" into the pockets of soldiers.[27] Rumors abounded that Viennese prostitutes enticed their clients with the "promise" of VD: "Come on, you will get infected and won't need to go to the field."[28] Such rumor-mongering placed the responsibility for the spread of venereal disease and traitorous weakening of Habsburg military strength squarely on the prostitute. Moreover, because the expected gender role of married women during the war was to support the war effort, survive with less food, handle the burden of more work while their husbands were away, women accused of clandestine prostitution were violating this role, too. They were not only weakening the army, but also failing to pull their weight in support of the war.

Soldiers were subjected to general inspections for venereal disease as early as December 1914, when the *Landwehrstations-Kommando* (Territorial Force Local

Militärverwaltung in den von den österreichisch-ungarischen Truppen besetzten Gebieten (Vienna: Carnegie-Stiftung für Internationalen Frieden, 1928).

[24] See Jovana Knežević, "Prostitutes as a Threat to National Honor in Habsburg-Occupied Serbia during the Great War," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 20/2 (May 2011): 330–1, for Habsburg military attitudes about Serbian and Croatian women.

[25] Knežević, "Prostitutes as a Threat to National Honor," 327–8. See Antonín Potužák, Z *pamětí pražského detektiva* (Pelhřimov: Nakladatelství Emila Šprongla, 1930), 45–6, on a "salon" for the military brothel that a quartermaster opened in Habsburg-occupied Lutsk, part of Russian Poland, using clandestine prostitutes from Prague.

[26] Dr. [Iuliu] Moldovan, "Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten bei der Armee im Feld," *Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift* 14/67 (31 March 1917): 660. The AOK instituted military brothels during the First World War; see Deák, *Beyond Nationalism*, 143.

[27] ÖStA, MdI, AVA, MP, Box 2122, 46210/1915, Christlichsoziale Landesparteileitung (Warnsdorf) to Hohes k.k. Innenministerium Wien, June 1915; and VÚA, 9 k.k. i. sborové velitelství, 1918–19, M.A. 46–12/3–3 to 46–58/1, k.k. Statthalterei in Böhmen to k.k. Militärkommando, 1 August 1915.

[28] Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire*, 268.

Command) in Mährisch Ostrau had men tested immediately before they took leave and upon their return. One reason for the testing was that many military officials had low opinions of the morals of the straw widows, whom they considered particularly dangerous as possible sources of venereal disease among the ranks. While their husbands were serving on the front, more women were left to venture out alone, not out of promiscuity but rather the desperate need for money for ever more expensive and scarce food to feed their families. Some of them did have sexual relations with men—often soldiers—who had venereal disease. They might become infected and pass the disease to their soldier husbands, some of whom did contract VD while on leave.[29] In fact, the rate of VD among Austria's married women rose during the war, in yet another example of societal breakdown.[30]

Two memoranda from the *Kommando der Südwest Front* (Southwestern Front Command) to Innsbruck, Graz, Laibach, Salzburg, Trieste, and leading *Etappen*-commands one year into the war shows the preoccupation on all fronts with the spread of venereal disease, including among married men.[31] The command repeated what would become a major military wartime health theme: the need to battle venereal disease with all means possible, because the number of men who were unfit to fight in both the short and longer term had a negative effect on military combat readiness. The diffusion of VD among civilians could affect future population growth, and thus the number of soldiers. In addition to tighter control of registered prostitutes, the command reiterated the need for greater vigilance in apprehending the clandestine prostitutes, and severe punishment for those prostitutes who, knowing they were infected with VD, still had sexual intercourse. These aims would prove even more difficult to achieve during the war than they had in peacetime, in part because there were fewer police to surveil these women.[32] The second memorandum envisioned the application of standardized rules regulating prostitution in the parts of the Monarchy under military command. If, during peacetime, leaving the battle against venereal disease to the municipalities had been feasible, this was no longer the case. Military officials believed that only strict,

[29] AMO, Okresní úřad Mährisch Ostrau, sig. Eb 44, Box 160, inv. č. 143, k.k. Bezirkshauptmannschaft in Mährisch Ostrau to Landwehrstations-Kommand in Mährisch Ostrau, 4 December 1914. See also Neisser, "Der Krieg und die Geschlechtskrankheiten," 18–19.

[30] E. [Ernst] Finger, "Die soziale Bedeutung und die Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten," *Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift* 22/69 (24 May 1919): 1069. On the spread of venereal disease among married women during the First World War elsewhere in Europe, see Michelle K. Rhoades, "Renegotiating French Masculinity: Medicine and Venereal Disease during the Great War," *French Historical Studies* 29/2 (2006): 293; Lutz D.H. Sauerteig, "'The Fatherland is in Danger, Save the Fatherland!': Venereal Disease, Sexuality, and Gender in Imperial and Weimar Germany," in Davidson and Hall, *Sex, Sin, and Suffering*, 85; and Sauerteig, "Sex, Medicine, and Morality during the First World War," 169.

[31] LPDW, PM, 1915, k.k. Kommando der SW Front, July 28, 1915. Concerning the high number of married men in the Wilhelmine German military with venereal disease, Neisser pointed out that some of these men were already suffering from VD at the war's outbreak; Neisser, "Der Krieg und die Geschlechtskrankheiten," 13–14.

[32] Magnus Hirschfeld, *The Sexual History of the World War* (New York: Cadillac Publishing Co., Inc., 1946), 188–9.

uniform regulation could guarantee success in combating VD during wartime, which the military would in any case prove unable to achieve.[33]

In July 1916, the army high command issued yet another decree concerning venereal disease. It noted that the level of VD among the troops in the field had declined by late 1915, but the number of military personnel with venereal disease had remained unchanged.[34] At least 50 percent of infections among the troops at the front occurred during leave and changes in command. Military officials had informed members of the army high command that individual cities, even particular brothels, were sources of infection, and that the major cause of the spread of disease appeared to lie in clandestine prostitution.

The Habsburg military waged its battle against VD on many fronts, because military and civilian authorities alike understood the futility of limiting their efforts to prostitutes.[35] Adequate supervision of registered prostitutes, including pedagogical material to help them recognize the symptoms of infection among their clientele and to prevent its spread by denying their services to infected men, constituted only a small part of the military's battle against venereal disease. Perhaps reflecting the influence of Austria's nascent sex education movement, the army also issued pedagogical-prophylactic information about venereal disease to garrisons across Austria-Hungary, encouraged the rank and file to employ personal prophylactic measures, and sought to provide punctual, thorough treatment of those infected.[36]

Military efforts to track down sources of venereal disease took many forms. Physicians wanted to know how and where soldiers became infected: in the field, in the *Etappenbereich* (the military-administered region behind the front), or in the hinterland (the home front).[37] In addition to being examined before going on leave and after returning, soldiers were encouraged to name the source of their infections. Soldiers might identify their sexual partners as a "nice girl," a "peasant woman," a

[33] ZAO, Sign. 899, Box 186.

[34] SOkAO, k.k. Statthalterei-Präsidium für Mähren to alle k.k. Bezirkshauptmannschaften, den Stadtrat in Brünn, die Gemeinderäte in Olmütz, Iglau, Znaim, 16 January 1916; and AMO, Okresní úřad MO, sig. Eb 44, Box 160, inv. č. 44, 26 November 1915.

[35] Dr. Hecht, "Ein Vorschlag zur Sanierung der Prostitution," *Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift* 9/67 (24 February 1917): 467–8.

[36] See VÚA, 9 k.k. i. sborové velitelství, 1917, MA 46–12/1 to 46–23/4–115; and 1918–19, M.A. 46–12/3–3 to 46–58/1, for numbers and examples of prophylactic brochures ordered, including "Merkblatt für Soldaten zur Aufklärung über das Wesen und die Gefahren der Geschlechtskrankheiten" and "Kako da se čuvate od sifilitike?" This material was available in nine Habsburg languages; garrisons received material in the languages spoken by the men stationed there.

[37] The AOK was responsible for the army in the field, which comprised Operational and Etappe. The War Ministry and the Austrian and Hungarian Defense Ministries remained in charge in the hinterlands. Upon mobilization, the Chief of General Staff together with the War Ministry delineated the border between army in the field and hinterlands. Later changes were made by the AOK in coordination with the War Ministry. The border between Operational Area and Etappe "could not be sharply separated." Normally, the Etappe covered the area between the hinterlands, where there was a clear division, and the support elements of the corps commands. ÖStA, Abteilung KA, Bestand Impressen, Box No. 478, Dienstbücher E-35 bis E-53 Vorschrift für die Höheren Kommandos der Armee im Felde, 1st edn. (Vienna: n.p., 1913). I thank Erwin A. Schmidl for this information. On the AOK's wartime arrogation to itself of various critical powers, see Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 391–3.

"widow," or a "Jew," some of whom they paid with a loaf of *Kommißbrot* (army rye bread; the term also refers to military food more generally).[38] The military sometimes obliged infected men to sign protocols explaining when, where, and by whom they believed they had become infected, as well as other personal information including their previous venereal disease history. Military and civilian officials recorded numerous instances of soldiers being infected while traveling to and from the front on leave: "I had a three-hour wait when I changed trains at Königgrätz [northern Bohemia] and I had intercourse near the station with a woman I met on the first train."[39] Military-civilian administrative correspondence demonstrates that soldiers often had no idea when or where they had become infected, including, sometimes in their own homes, by their own wives, while on leave.[40]

In Moravia, the army took far-reaching measures to prevent the spread of venereal disease beginning in June 1915. Walther Pick, the regimental physician at Olmütz's military hospital, through which 10,860 soldiers with VD had passed in the war's first year, wrote that prophylactic methods had had some success in lowering venereal disease rates among the ranks.[41] The local commander sought the inspection, the questioning, and the regular examination of all clandestine and registered prostitutes; the removal of those women lacking right of residency who "aroused suspicion"; and the forcible transfer of infected prostitutes to hospitals. The military instituted obligatory prophylactic measures for soldiers—in Olmütz examinations of soldiers was increased from two to three times a month—and punishment for failure to use prophylactics. They were urged to "Protect yourself from venereal disease" and reminded that "Where there are many soldiers, there are prostitutes," "Streetwalkers are all diseased," and "Avoiding sexual congress never hurts!"[42]

Parallel to its effort to make infected soldiers take some responsibility for the proliferation of venereal disease, the Habsburg military repeatedly urged civilian authorities to keep prostitutes in their jurisdiction under the strictest medical and police supervision. The governor of Moravia circulated directives on the battle

[38] Anton Blumenfeld, "Zur Bewertung der Geschlechtskrankheiten im Kriege," *Der Militärarzt* 13/50 (13 May 1916): 248, detailed Austrian soldiers' descriptions of their sexual partners; and Brunner, *Illustrierte Sittengeschichte*, 41, described similar practices in German-occupied Belgium and France. Alain Corbin, *Women for Hire: Prostitution and Sexuality in France after 1850*, trans. by Alan Sheridan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 335; and Judith Surkis, *Sexing the Citizen: Morality and Masculinity in France 1870–1920* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), 237, noted that the medical examiner saw French soldiers before and after leave. On France, see Félix Balzer, "Prophylaxie et traitement des maladies vénériennes en temps de guerre," *Presse médicale* 49 (14 October 1915): 401–2. Baldwin, *Contagion and the State in Europe*, 456–7, describes other belligerents' attitudes toward venereal examinations, including the New Zealanders' "dangle parade."

[39] SOkAKH, Městký úřad Kutná Hora, spisová manipulace, 1850–1932, sign. XII, 1910–1922, Box 409, Janos M., no date [1916]; and Nandor P., 4 November 1915; see also Veress, "Die Behandlung der geschlechtskranken Soldaten im Felde," 334.

[40] Soldiers' signed protocols about their diseases can be found in the regional archives in Kutná Hora in the Czech Republic and Czernivtsi, Ukraine.

[41] Walther Pick, "Ein Erfolg im Kampfe gegen die Geschlechtskrankheiten," *Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift* 41/65 (10 November 1915): 1525–8.

[42] This rhetoric was used in military and civilian anti-VD materials. See AMO, Stadtpolizeiamt Mährisch Ostrau; also Pick, "Ein Erfolg," *Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift*, 1528.

against clandestine prostitution to all civilian administrative officials, making further demands on local authorities' attempts to control both clandestine and tolerated prostitutes.[43] Because there had been some success with prophylactic measures at brothels in Pola on the Adriatic, the governor wanted all brothels in Moravia to adopt these measures. He further recommended that prophylactics such as those available in the barracks also be made available in *Stundenhotels*.

The process for registering females who voluntarily and involuntarily came under police supervision remained the same as in peacetime. Continuing the cumbersome prewar practice, the vice police contacted their counterparts elsewhere in the Monarchy to verify legal residency and to request confirmation of the women's claims to have been registered as prostitutes in their districts, as well as to ascertain whether they had police records or had been hospitalized for venereal disease. Reflecting the deleterious effect of Russian occupation of Bukovina and eastern Galicia on the functioning of the Austrian regulatory system, some local administrators responded that it was impossible to answer questions concerning individual prostitutes or even the total number of tolerated prostitutes during wartime because the "enemy" had destroyed the relevant records.[44]

THE IMPERIAL CAPITAL DURING WARTIME: MORALS AND MORALE

Civilian criticism of military-prostitute intermixing on the home front sharply increased during the war. Both rank and file and officers quickly became subjects of civilian disapprobation and censure, above all in the imperial capital, where nightlife, despite repeated civilian complaints about the "seriousness of the time," remained lively in the first year of the war. Vice police worked with the military during wartime to control soldiers' behavior that so offended the public. Already in autumn 1914 representatives of the women's organizations of all political parties in Vienna demanded that the city's nightclubs be closed altogether. The *Stadtkommandant* (commanding officer for Vienna) responded by calling for nightclubs to close earlier, noting it was of "great military importance" to protect the troops drawn to these establishments, which prostitutes frequented.[45]

The weekly *Stimmungsberichte* (police reports on mood or attitude) offer an overview of prostitution in wartime Vienna. In December 1914, Viennese police

[43] SOkAO, Archiv města Olomouce (hereafter AM Olomouce), Registratura 1874–1920, Politická Box 117, inv. č. 52/10A, k.k. Statthalterei-Präsidium für Mähren, Brünn, 23 July 1916, Geschlechtskrankheiten, Bekämpfung.

[44] See for example Derzhavnyi arkhiv Chernivetskoi oblasti (hereafter DAChO), DPMC, 10/1/1470 (1918), doc. 14, 24 June 1918.

[45] NÖLA, Präsidium 1914 2730 XXII/162–85, correspondence from 31 October, 22 November, and 30 November 1914. This case demonstrates that the military did not have the power to intervene directly on the home fronts. The *Stadtkommandant* called upon civilian authorities to act. I thank Maureen Healy for this material.

reported that the numbers of convalescing soldiers who packed nightclubs in the company of prostitutes had still not decreased. Nor had their drunken excesses. Civilians complained that some convalescing soldiers simply spent their nights in cafés, in self-service buffets with prostitutes, or even in the prostitutes' own quarters. Moreover, because of night locales' midnight closing hours in some districts, there were initially more reports of streetwalkers, as commercial sexual transactions began out of doors.

In early 1915, police reported that Vienna's taverns were busy primarily on Saturday and Sunday nights. Earlier closing for coffeehouses and other nightspots meant the nighttime streets were quieter, with fewer prostitutes and their pimps. One exception was the First District, where soldiers "swarmed," and traffic with prostitutes was still brisk, although prostitutes in some brothels complained that they were earning less than they had before the war's outbreak.[46] Earlier closing hours of other nightlife brought increased traffic to the city's regulated brothels, where soldiers sometimes caroused into the early morning. Indeed, the brothel keeper in Vienna's Ottakring neighborhood hired a carriage minder for clients, so great were their numbers at the brothel.[47] Shortly thereafter the neighbors began complaining about the noisy presence of drunken brothel visitors during the wee hours.[48]

Some of the constraints on Vienna's decreasing number of regulated prostitutes had begun loosening by late 1915. In early December, police inspecting the Artin brothel reported that the bare-legged, scantily clad prostitute who answered the door responded to them approximately, "If you don't like it, don't look. I won't show you anything." The police also reported beer bottles in the brothel's reception area. When questioned, the housekeeper claimed the prostitutes each had a bottle of beer with dinner. The police seemed unconvinced by her explanation, although they later reported that the brothel was breaking neither liquor nor gramophone regulations. There was no mention of the bare-legged prostitute being punished.[49]

Prostitutes were more often absent during the regular daytime inspections—at times fewer than half were present. Police noted the number of brothel prostitutes was dropping, but independent prostitutes were still very much in evidence. "One saw them on the best streets in the city and in cafés, where they would not have been permitted before the war," they reported. Most of the women earned from four to twenty crowns (about 50 cents to $2.50) per trick, but the "lower sort" made two crowns (about 25 cents). As before the war, independent prostitutes continued to walk the streets of the Prater. They were joined by numerous women who had previously been expelled from Vienna for clandestine prostitution, but having married their Viennese pimps who were serving in the military, were permitted to remain in the capital.[50]

[46] LPDW, PM, 1913, k.k. Polizeidirektion Wien report on Therese Artin brothel, 1 December 1914.
[47] LPDW, Stimmungsberichte aus der Kriegszeit, for autumn and winter 1914, for example, "Rekonvaleszente Soldaten," 3 December 1914.
[48] LPDW, Zentralinspektorat der k.k. Sicherheitswache, 22 April 1915.
[49] LPDW, PM, 1912, k.k. Bezirks-Polizei-Commisariat Innere-Stadt in Wien to Therese Artin, 3 October 1915.
[50] LPDW, Beilage zum Stimmungsberichte, 9 March 1916.

Police reported that both the officers who were serving in Vienna and those who were convalescing there went in large numbers to the *Heuriger* (inns with outdoor seating at which young wine was served) of Grinzing and neighboring Sievering that summer, behaving "unprofessionally," not conforming to military standards, not only in such locales but also when returning to quarters. Their "hooting and hollering" in the company of prostitutes disturbed large circles of people. Neighborhood residents, as well as passersby, had already lodged complaints, "couched in the most derogatory terms," about the soldiers' behavior. The complainants observed that given the example the officers set, the "unfortunate" behavior of the rank and file could not have been considered a surprise. Indeed, some of the soldiers stayed in taverns and guesthouses, singing and otherwise raising hell until closing time, after which they simply continued drinking in nearby parks with prostitutes.[51]

In addition to brisk traffic in Vienna's *Heuriger* in summer 1916, police also reported civilian complaints about boisterous merrymaking in nightclubs and drunken groups of officers and cadets accompanied by women of the demimonde, whose behavior they also thought did not reflect the seriousness of the time.[52] Moreover, some officers not only had sexual congress with prostitutes, but seemed to have formed relationships with these women, as evidenced by the officers observed visiting them in the prostitutes' (VD) section of the hospital in Meidling.[53] That same summer, Viennese vice police reported heavy traffic, including soldiers, in Leopoldstadt's *Stundenhotels*. Vice police also estimated some 90 to 95 percent of the women they arrested for clandestine prostitution had venereal disease, an issue that continued to concern the army, whose military police were having difficulties enforcing discipline on their men.

Another reflection of wartime societal breakdown was the growing difficulty of forcing Vienna's regulated prostitutes who had been diagnosed with venereal disease to go directly to the hospital. Rather, according to a physician at the Franz Joseph Hospital, these women might only appear several days later, if at all. Some prostitutes simply unregistered and left the city, primarily for Hungary, to avoid treatment. As the hospital's director accurately noted, these women posed a threat to public health and discredited vice police efforts. The police treated clandestine prostitutes picked up in raids and found to have venereal disease very strictly, bringing them directly to the hospital for treatment. The physician suggested that these same "radical measures" be applied to registered prostitutes, otherwise they could be held responsible for the spread of venereal disease.[54] By March 1916, there were only eight police agents and two bureaucrats in the vice division for all Vienna.[55]

Also to be found in police records is another element of brothel prostitute life during wartime. In an extension of contemporary "normal" home-front behavior,

[51] LPDW, Stimmungsberichte aus der Kriegszeit, 21 June 1917.

[52] LPDW, Zentralinspektorat der k.k. Sicherheitswache, Book IV 1916, summer and autumn reports.

[53] LPDW, Zentralinspektorat der k.k. Sicherheitswache, Book IV 1916, summer reports.

[54] LPDW, PM, 1917, Dr. [Josef] Kyrle to Löbliche Direktion, 13 October 1917.

[55] NÖLA, Statthalterei, Präs. P, Box 716, P. 2379 XIX, 23 March 1916.

Vienna's prostitutes were patriotic and participated in the war effort. Some, like women throughout the belligerent states, had knitted warm winter clothing for the men at the front and collected cigarettes for them.[56] Others, mainly those who had been in one brothel for a long time, had savings, and invested in war bonds. In the last years of the war, prostitutes complained they were unable to save money because business was slow. Those with savings complained of having to live off this money.[57] Although some of Vienna's better brothels still remained "full of officers" in December 1917, the increasingly dire economic situation in the imperial capital had taken a toll on the brothel economy. That same month, during one of the regular vice police inspections, prostitutes in one First District brothel reported that officials had prohibited their use of the bath owing to coal-savings measures and that they paid a weekly two-crown coal surcharge to keep the reception room heated.[58] Elsewhere, the rent Viennese prostitutes paid to brothel madams was dropping. These comments reveal that strict rationing on the home front had also had deleterious effects on an often overlooked part of the wartime economy: the sex trade.

PROSTITUTES AND SOLDIERS ELSEWHERE ON THE HOME FRONT

Prostitutes attracted attention both in the larger cities and in the smaller municipalities of the home front, where complaints about them were another indicator of the fraying of Habsburg social norms. In increasingly large parts of the Monarchy, anywhere there was a garrison or simply numerous soldiers, the public, the civilian administration, and the military were concerned about prostitute-soldier interactions. From the war's outbreak provincial police reported on the combustible combination of regulated prostitutes and soldiers. Indeed, in Cracow, tolerated prostitutes were checked almost daily. Police, sometimes in cooperation with the military, conducted regular raids to apprehend clandestine prostitutes, register them, subject them to examinations, and intern those with VD. This often meant going after the same old suspects who practiced clandestine prostitution for economic reasons. The initial response of the local police was to keep a closer watch on servants and other women of "questionable reputation" and to expel all "suspicious" women not registered to live in a particular locale.[59]

Across Austria, women who may not have participated in commercial sex were caught up in the battle against venereal disease. In March 1915, the Olmütz city council informed local innkeepers that effective 8 May, chambermaids could be

[56] LPDW, PM, 1912.
[57] LPDW, PM, 1913, k.k. Polizeidirektion Wien report on Therese Artin brothel, 28 June 1917.
[58] LPDW, PM, 1917.
[59] On Cracow, see Franz von Krzysztalowicz, "Zur Frage der Vorbeugung der venerischen Erkrankungen in der Armee," *Der Militärarzt* 6/49 (27 March 1915): 90; SOkAO, AM Olomouce, Registratura 1874–1920, Politická, Box 117, 52/10A, k.k. Stationskommandant in Olmütz to Gemeinderat, 11 July 1916.

employed only within strict limitations for the duration of the war because of the large number of troops stationed at the local garrison. Chambermaids were required "voluntarily" to submit to monthly examinations to ascertain that they had no infectious or "loathsome" diseases. Maids, tavern employees, and other working-class women whose employment brought them into casual contact with soldiers were placed under similar regimes elsewhere. While police control regimes for these women were more limited than for tolerated prostitutes, such policies constituted additional state wartime intrusion into women's lives, and this intrusion would continue into the interwar period in some successor states.[60] None of their efforts were sufficient to protect public morals or prevent the spread of venereal disease.

Responding to one of the army high command's decrees, the Olmütz garrison commander and city authorities increased regulated prostitutes' medical examinations to three times weekly during summer 1915. The commander also proposed focusing on clandestine prostitutes as the main source of the spread of venereal disease.[61] However, while clandestine prostitutes may have been the major source of VD in Olmütz, regimental physician Pick observed that in striking contrast to peacetime, when tolerated prostitutes had been less dangerous than clandestine prostitutes, the number of brothel infections had reached 59 percent during the first year of the war.[62] The reason for the increase, he claimed, was easy to find: the number of brothels and tolerated prostitutes in the city was far too low. During peacetime, there had been twenty-eight registered prostitutes, but during wartime, with a significantly expanded garrison, the number of tolerated prostitutes had only increased to thirty-five. Because of the much greater demand for prostitutes, women might service twenty-five men a night. Under such conditions, vice police control was unable to fulfill its goals of suppressing clandestine prostitution and keeping tolerated prostitutes healthy.[63]

In 1916, the imperial rules regulating prostitution were expanded to include still more women. As the war dragged on, the military and local officials took increasingly proactive measures. They focused on local women, many of whom were unemployed or employed in badly paid sectors of the economy, and who lived near barracks. Authorities accused these women of lewd conduct by night in alleys and taverns, seized them, and subjected them to medical examinations.[64] From April 1916 women who worked in Mährisch Ostrau's "suspect" pubs, wine bars, cafés, and rooming houses, who had long participated in commercial sex, as well as other

[60] DAChO, Fond 350, opys 4, file 4012. See the protocols of four waitresses placed under police supervision in August 1918.

[61] SOkAO, AM Olomouce, Registratura 1874–1920, Politická, Box 117, inv. č. 52/10A, k.k. Stationskommandant in Olmütz, 4 April 1916.

[62] Walther Pick, "Ein Erfolge im Kampfe gegen die Geschlechtskrankheiten," 1525 (to the end of August 1915). I have found no mention of this method being duplicated elsewhere; Veress, "Die Behandlung der geschlechtskranken Soldaten im Felde," 336–7, summarized Pick's findings without comment.

[63] Pick, "Ein Erfolge im Kampfe gegen die Geschlechtskrankheiten," 1525; and AMO, Okresní úřad MO, sig. Eb 44, Box 160, inv. č. 44, 23 July 1916.

[64] SOkAL, Archiv města Liberce, Box 7, k.k. Statthaltereirat to the Magistrat in Reichenberg, 24 July 1917.

women suspected of the same, were to be forcibly examined. Female employment in those locales would be permitted only under the condition that they voluntarily submitted to police medical control. At the same time, the local commander placed some cafés and entertainment spots off limits to the soldiers.[65]

An episode in a Karlsbad brothel reveals the deference with which the officer caste was still treated in the Monarchy's class-based society, even as officers defied prostitution regulations. Officers breaking curfew brought brothel madam Ernestine Wenzel—but not themselves—to the attention of the police for violating curfew and permitting alcohol on her premises. Sometime after midnight on 17 July 1916, gendarmes approached Wenzel's "Prater" in Drahowitz. The brothel's front door was locked, but its first-floor lights were ablaze, so the gendarmes knocked. After they identified themselves, according to the gendarmes, the housekeeper permitted them to enter. The gendarmes went up to the first floor, where they came upon three "persons of rank" drinking wine with prostitutes in the brothel's small salon. When the three officers, in their shirtsleeves, saw the gendarmes, they fled with the prostitutes to the women's rooms. Wenzel reported that the gendarmes chose not to "examine" the situation more closely because of the men's rank and so as not to demean them in the presence of the brothel employees.

Charged with keeping her brothel open until half past one in the morning, Wenzel righteously asserted that the three officers who stayed past curfew had arrived before the midnight closing hours. They had asked for "girls," which Wenzel supplied. No one was in the common salon, and the brothel was quiet at midnight when she closed its doors. The only people in the brothel besides the "girls" were the three officers, whom Wenzel asked to leave. They ignored her request and Wenzel asserted that she had no means to force them to acquiesce to it. While she was obliged to close her establishment at midnight, she claimed that she had neither the power, nor the right to expel the men from rooms they had rented. Wenzel was willing to pay a fine as part of the cost of doing business; she simply wanted the amount reduced.[66]

Brothels sometimes came to the attention of authorities not because the prostitute-residents had behaved in any untoward way, but rather because of soldiers' behavior, sometimes unrelated to commercial sex. In one case, a military middle school in Bruck an der Leitha in Lower Austria, whose students were ten- to thirteen-year-old boys, had been housed on the grounds of the local *Landwehr* (militia) shortly after the war's outbreak. It was situated fifty feet away from the property on which a brothel had been constructed in 1913. Both buildings were outside the part of town where the other brothels and disreputable pensions were located. In addition to the "moral" danger their prostitute neighbors might pose to the young cadets during wartime, the entire area presented a physical danger to

[65] AMO, Okresní úřad MO, sig. Eb 44, Box 160, inv. č. 44, 6 April 1916; AMO, Mor. Ostrava Gemeindeprotokoll, 2 December 1914. The protocol includes prostitutes, unemployed laborers, and thieves expelled for immoral conduct.

[66] SOkAKV, to the k.k. Bezirkshauptmannschaft in Karlsbad, 17 July 1916; to the Statthalterei, signed Ernestine Wenzel, 9 October 1916.

them. Why? Enlisted men and prisoners of war from the nearby camp had often behaved riotously in this brothel during the hostilities. One guest had even fired a pistol on the brothel's staircase. Pitched battles between soldiers, attracted to the area by the promise of sex, and the military police, brought in to maintain order, had broken out several times in the brothel.

The most serious violence between the soldiers and the military police had taken place on 1 June 1918. This incident began in a guesthouse. The "malefactors," all of them soldiers, had fled the premises by the time the military police appeared on the scene. The men were on their way to the railway yard, where a military train had been readied for their use. Their route took them by the brothel on the edge of town. It was just happenstance that the military police and the soldiers confronted one another precisely in front of the brothel. Shots were fired in the ensuing fracas, endangering the students housed nearby.

Despite the problems connected with this brothel, neither the military nor the municipal council sought to close it. Indeed, civilian authorities recommended against it. They feared that relocating the brothel would cause further aggravation and thereby endanger the security of others more than the establishment did at its present, relatively remote location. It had, in fact, helped remedy the nuisance of clandestine prostitutes walking the street and working out of pensions in the older part of town. Since the brothel's opening, the area had attracted numerous soldiers, especially during the summer in peacetime. Provincial officials considered the brothel a necessary evil resulting from the extraordinarily large number of military personnel who stationed in the camp and in the city itself. If the military forced the brothel's closing, the result would be "churlish discontent" among the rank and file, whose discipline had already "regrettably very much declined."[67]

Police throughout Austria conducted frequent raids to ensure that civilian and soldier behavior conformed to wartime regulations. Raids in Lemberg between autumn 1915 and late summer 1916 focused on apprehending those civilians and soldiers—even Russian prisoners of war on the loose—who violated wartime civilian and military regulations, especially curfew.[68] The police stopped civilians who lacked sufficient identification, releasing them when they provided it. Others were seized because they were improperly registered with local authorities, had overstayed their residence permits, were drunk in public, or behaved in a way that "offended public morals." Errant enlisted men and officers, deserters, and even a student wearing a military uniform without permission were returned to their regiments or handed over to the local military command.[69]

The treatment of women swept up in the raids often differed from that of men, and offers another example of concerns about working-class females as carriers of venereal disease. Civilian and military authorities alike recognized that women were

[67] ÖStA, MdI, AVA, MP, Box 2122, 50605/1918, Exzesse in Bruck a/L., 30 July 1918; and Exzesse in Bruck an der Leitha, signed for the k.k. Statthalter, 26 August 1918.

[68] Enemy POWs sometimes worked outside the camps, coming into contact with local women; see Lisa Todd, "The Soldier's Wife Who Ran Away with the Russian: Sexual Infidelities in World War I Germany," *Central European History* 44 (2011): 257–78.

[69] DALO, Dyrektsiia politsii u L'vovi, Fond 350, opys 1, file 4012.

more likely to be out alone at night during wartime than during peacetime, owing both to their husbands, fathers, and male friends serving at the front and to their increased wartime employment. Thus, women's presence alone on the street was insufficient reason to stop them on suspicion of prostitution.[70] Lemberg police, however, detained some women, above all young servants, seamstresses, and waitresses, who lacked proper identification papers, and had them tested for venereal disease. The number of women police turned over to Lemberg's local hospital for treatment of VD was far higher in wartime—especially following the Russian occupation of 1914–15—than before the war.[71] Mirroring the breakdown of vice police surveillance, the infractions of registered prostitutes detained in raids were sometimes more serious than simply lacking proper papers. Their offenses ranged from carrying false identification and public drunkenness, through "forgetting" their health books, to skipping their required medical examinations. These women were turned over to the district court for sentencing.[72]

Civilians scrutinized the behavior of prostitutes and alleged prostitutes, of single women or women left alone by their husbands who were at the front—and increasingly denounced them. Residents of working-class neighborhoods rebuked the female factory workers, stenographers, maids, and waitresses living among them for a variety of moral infractions. Police reports from the Karlsbad suburb of Fischern two years into the war address women who either had no legitimate employment despite having long resided there, or who allegedly augmented their meager salaries at local markets, factories, and the like by practicing clandestine prostitution. What was the solution to these immoral women? Reflecting Monarchy-wide attempts to mobilize all Austria-Hungary's residents for the war effort, Karlsbad's civilian authorities sought to have them employed in a nearby munitions factory.[73] If able-bodied women who lacked the right of residency in Karlsbad rejected the employment they were offered, they could be expelled based on the vagabond law.

Observing a great rise in the level of venereal disease among the soldiers in Karlsbad, the local military advised city officials in late October 1915 to expand surveillance of prostitutes to prevent further infections among the enlisted men who had heretofore been filling the hospitals. The number of men infected, however, continued to grow.[74] Military authorities repeatedly requested the aid of local officials in combating clandestine prostitution. They identified the culprits

[70] LPDW, PM, 1917, "Referat"; and *NFP*, 12 October 1916, 11.

[71] In contrast to the annual average in Lemberg of one hundred women during peacetime, following the Russian occupation of 1916 the police turned over 1,340 women to the hospital for treatment of venereal disease, according to Vladimir von Lukasiewicz, who headed the university dermatology clinic in Lemberg: Dr. Lukasiewicz, "Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten in Galizien," *Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift* 14/67 (31 March 1917): 661. Frances L. Bernstein has written that VD reached "'epidemic' status" in Russia during the first decade of Soviet rule, prompting "the development of an entire subfield of sanitary propaganda, known as sexual enlightenment." See Bernstein, "Envisioning Health in Revolutionary Russia: The Politics of Gender in Sexual Enlightenment Posters of the 1920s," *Russian Review* 57/2 (April 1998): 192.

[72] DALO, 350/4/4012.

[73] See correspondence in SOkAKV, AMKV, Box 147, 1916, Boj proti prostituci v Karlových Varech.

[74] SOkAKV, Spisy, B-XIV-188, mravnostní policie - 1915, 3 March 1916.

as domestics in Karlsbad and the surrounding suburbs who reportedly rented rooms in *Stundenhotels* to service their customers.[75] The city's reaction was to increase surveillance of the popular nightspots, the neighboring suburbs, and the area near the central railroad station, as well as to expand medical examinations of prostitutes from twice to thrice weekly.[76] Civilian authorities in Karlsbad asserted that prostitutes in neighboring Fischern, which had no brothel, were the source of many venereal infections.[77]

The response of Fischern's acting physician demonstrates the tension between the interests of the state/military and civilians on morals and health questions. He reminded the military commander that the soldiers played an important role in the spread of syphilis, because men were the main carriers of the disease. He rejected the military's contention that his town was the source of the soldiers' infections, noting that any misconduct in a "public house" would soon become known and local officials would soon place it off limits to troops. Moreover, ongoing police raids brought clandestine prostitutes in for medical inspection. The physician explained that he diagnosed a significant number of local venereal disease cases and sent the women in question to the hospital in Karlsbad. More could not be done with clandestine prostitutes, he commented. The physician concluded that the military could not simply blame Fischern residents for prostitution and the syphilis that soldiers might contract.[78] Local military and civilian authorities alike ignored his opinion.

In their battle against venereal disease, civilian and military leaders in the Bohemian Lands suggested numerous, often creative methods to track sexual traffic in the brothels. By December 1915, the district police in Mährisch Ostrau had provided each brothel with different colored control tablets. Each prostitute had her own control tablet, and she was to give every military "guest" a control coupon upon demand. The guest was to keep the coupon he received when visiting the brothel. Theoretically, any infected soldier could easily trace the source of his infection.[79] In early January 1916 an infected soldier produced a coupon identifying the prostitute who had allegedly infected him. The woman was found healthy in both the regular gynecological examination, and in a second "more thorough" exam to which she was subjected because of the soldier's accusation. While local police concluded that the soldier had either accidentally or deliberately misidentified the cause of his infection, as a result Mährisch Ostrau's brothel

[75] SOkAKV, OÚKV, Box 147, 1916, Boj proti prostituci v Karlových Varech, Abschrift, Karlsbad, 18 February 1916.

[76] SOkAKV, OÚKV, Box 147, 1916, Boj proti prostituci v Karlových Varech, letters of 3 March 1916. Erwin Klauber, "Das Schutzbesteck gegen Geschlechtskrankheiten," *Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift* 43/66 (21 October 1916): 1617.

[77] SOkAKV, OÚKV, Box 147, 1916, Boj proti prostituci v Karlových Varech, k.k. Bezirkshauptmannschaft in Karlsbad to the Gemeindeamt in Dönitz, 31 March 1916.

[78] SOkAKV, OÚKV, Box 147, 1916, Boj proti prostituci v Karlových Varech, to Bürgermeisteramt Fischern, 6 April 1916.

[79] SOkAO, Stadt Polizeiamt Mährisch Ostrau to the Stadtpolizeiamt in Olmütz, 3 April 1916; AMO, Okresní úřad MO, sig. Eb 44, Box 160, inv. č. 143, 10 Dec. 1015; and inv. č. 44, 14 January 1916.

prostitutes underwent examinations thrice weekly to lessen further the possibility of their spreading disease.[80] The garrison commander in nearby Olmütz was so desperate to apprehend women with venereal disease that he advocated trying all strategies that had proved even marginally successful elsewhere to limit its spread. He therefore proposed adopting Mährisch Ostrau's practice of issuing coupons, which he believed would confirm the source of at least some infections.[81] In March 1916, Reichenberg's military command recommended that the doors to the rooms of individual prostitutes in the city's brothels—many located near the local barracks—be clearly numbered and clearly marked with the name of the prostitute. In principle, any soldier who became infected with venereal disease could then identify the source of his infection.

The military inspected soldiers with the aim of identifying those with venereal disease to cure them (meaning their symptoms had disappeared) as rapidly as possible so they could return to the field, not to make these men responsible for their own infections. The state supported the military in this endeavor, which mirrored its own policy of holding women who engaged in commercial and/or extramarital sex responsible for the spread of venereal disease.

PROSTITUTION IN WARTIME CZERNOWITZ

"Civilian-military hybridity,"[82] reflecting the fluid conditions of the Habsburg fronts in the wartime East, posed a threat to attempts to control prostitution and staunch venereal disease. Owing to the failure of Habsburg military strategy, Russian troops occupied Bukovina and much of Galicia at the war's outbreak. Czernowitz was declared an open city, then briefly occupied by Russian forces in late 1914. After changing hands several times, it was again occupied by Russian troops in June 1916 and remained under their control until August the following year. Austro-Hungarian military physicians warned of the threat the invading Russian army posed to its citizens and soldiers alike. They alleged that contagious diseases, including venereal infections, were rampant in the tsarist army because of the Russian military's abject lack of medical services.[83] The Austrian military and public had long believed that venereal disease had become widespread in Galicia during earlier times of Russian occupation (syphilis had been endemic in the eastern Galician Carpathians since the Russians had marched through in the revolutionary year of 1848), and there were reports of the spread of venereal disease in the part of eastern Galicia under Russian wartime occupation.[84]

Following the Russian occupation in June 1916, Czernowitz's prostitutes—and assumed prostitutes—attracted the Russian military's attention. Russian treatment

[80] AMO, Okresní úřad MO, Sig. Eb 44, Box 160, inv. č. 143, Polizeiamtsleiter to the Bezirkshauptmannschaft.

[81] SOkAO, AM Olomouce, Registratura 1874–1920, Politická, Box 117, inv. č. 52/10A, Zuschrift, 6 April 1916.

[82] The term belongs to Iris Rachamimov.

[83] Krzysztalowicz, "Zur Frage der Vorbeugung der venerischen Erkrankungen," 89.

[84] Lukasiewicz, "Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten in Galizien," 661.

of prostitutes was similar to that of the Habsburgs, because the Romanov rulers had regulated prostitution since the 1840s, also based on the Napoleonic Code.[85] When the occupiers compiled lists of registered prostitutes living in greater Czernowitz, they included approximately the same information as had the Habsburg authorities: their ages, addresses, and with whom they lived, because the Russians too sought to prevent the spread of venereal disease among the ranks. Despite the limitations of Russia's own public health measures, the army was concerned about the danger venereal disease posed to its soldiers because of the "unsanitary" conditions in occupied territories.[86] Russian efforts at social control in these areas, including surveillance of "enemy" prostitutes and women accused of prostitution, proved even less effective than those of the Habsburgs, who had profited from their recent experience regulating prostitution in occupied Bosnia-Herzegovina.[87]

In occupied Czernowitz, the Russians contended with many of the same issues as the Austrians concerning prostitute surveillance. They followed up anonymous accusations of clandestine prostitution, they arrested clandestine prostitutes, and they sought to enforce tolerated prostitutes' physician visits.[88] By early September 1916 the Russian governor informed the Czernowitz chief of police about the large numbers of prostitutes rumored to have appeared in the city. (Not only the Russians complained about prostitutes appearing in the cities they occupied; so too did the district head of nearby Kolomea in southwestern Galicia, who wrote that numbers of prostitutes surged there in 1916 following the Russian invasion. For the most part they also left when the troops withdrew.[89]) The governor alleged that the women were inadequately monitored and were spreading venereal disease among the occupying Russian forces. Thus, the governor called on the police to apprehend these women and have them examined for venereal disease. The infected were to be hospitalized, while those deemed healthy were to be returned to their place of legal residence, and the local authorities were to be informed so they could continue monitoring them. If a prostitute's legal residence were in Habsburg-held territory, making it impossible for her to be returned, the woman was simply to be expelled, although it is unclear where she was to go.[90]

[85] On treatment of prostitutes in imperial Russia, see Laurie Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters: Prostitutes and their Regulation in Imperial Russia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 15–17.

[86] Hirschfeld, *Sexual History of the World War*, 107–8, discusses a medical congress the Russians held in Kiev in 1916 to combat venereal disease, at which the unsanitary conditions in the regions the Russians occupied were described. On the challenges total war posed in Russia, see for example Peter Gatrell, *Russia's First World War: A Social and Economic History* (Harlow: Pearson, 2005); and Peter Gatrell, *A Whole Empire Walking: Refugees in Russia during World War I* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999).

[87] Camillo Karl Schneider, *Die Prostituierte und die Gesellschaft. Eine soziologisch-ethische Studie* (Leipzig: J.A. Barth, 1908), 160–7.

[88] DAChO, Upravlenie Chernovitskogo politsmeister Chernovitskogo gubernskogo politskogo upravleniia, 705/1/85, docs. 12, 20, 74, 135.

[89] Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv Ukrainy, Lviv, 146, Kieroník c.k. starostwa, 10 października 1917.

[90] DAChO, Upravlenie Chernovitskogo politsmeister Chernovitskogo gubernskogo politskogo upravleniia, 705/1/85, 5 September 1916.

Czernowitz's clandestine prostitutes came to the attention of the Russian authorities for broad reasons of social control in occupied territory. The Russians, too, twinned accusations of prostitution and espionage. Their counterintelligence operatives believed clandestine prostitutes, already suspect as sources of venereal disease, participated in undisclosed covert activities, further endangering the Russian military.[91] By July 1916 the head of the occupying forces' 9th Army counterintelligence informed the chief of police that according to his sources, there was a clandestine brothel on Mariangasse where "suspicious figures" gathered daily. Counterintelligence suspected that disguised Austrian soldiers might be concealed there.[92] Russian authorities associated the Austrians with prostitution just as the Austrian authorities popularly associated the Russians with venereal disease, confirming Mary Spongberg's observation that reaction to the spread of syphilis in early modern Europe was xenophobic; each newly affected group blamed its neighbor for the disease.[93]

Counterintelligence complained the next month that guests of the three prostitutes who lived at Mikuliczgasse no. 4, close to Austria-Platz in the center of the city, caused such a racket in their dwelling at night that they could be heard on the street. The letter's author noted that the noise was "extremely inconvenient," because a British military officer occupied the house across the street. Thus, he pleaded that the prostitutes either be relocated or "requested" not to permit anyone in their lodgings at night.

When Czernowitz returned to Habsburg hands, authorities did not apply the creative methods used in Mährisch Ostrau and Reichenberg to identify particular brothels and prostitutes. Rather, soldiers who believed they had contracted venereal disease in that city sought to identify the women they considered responsible for their infection. Physicians at the front passed along the information they gleaned from infected soldiers to the local vice police. Sometimes, the soldier's description was inadequate to identify the woman with whom he claimed to have had sexual congress. No prostitutes lived at the address he supplied; no one at the address, or even in the neighborhood, had heard of the woman in question. In other cases, the address the soldier supplied simply did not exist: "There is no Kreuzgasse here, but rather a Hl.-Kreuzplatz, but we could not find the alleged prostitute there, either"—or the prostitute fitting the soldier's description had been deemed healthy

[91] On the Russian military's identification of prostitutes as vehicles for both venereal disease and espionage, see Joshua A. Sanborn, "Unsettling the Empire: Violent Migrations and Social Disaster in Russia during World War I," *Journal of Modern History* 77/2 (June 2005): 300. On "brothels as veritable nests of espionage, particularly in the invaded territories," see H.C. Fisher and E.X. Dubois, eds., *Sexual Life during the World War* (London: Francis Aldor Publisher, 1937), 319–20.

[92] DAChO, Upravlenie Chernovitskogo politsmeister Chernovitskogo gubernskogo politskogo upravleniia, 705/1/85, 1916, The Chief of Counterintelligence department of the headquarters of the Ninth Army, 16 July 1916.

[93] Spongberg, *Feminizing Venereal Disease*, 4. Russians called syphilis "the Polish sickness" and the Poles named it "the German sickness," while the French and Italians blamed one another for syphilis. The Italians referred to "Celtica" because the first recorded outbreak in Europe occurred during the French invasion of Naples (1494). Italians popularly attributed to French soldiers the introduction of syphilis into their country.

at her regular examinations.[94] Sometimes the accused was not a prostitute at all, but rather an employee for a café or bar who might or might not have been engaging in clandestine prostitution. Fairly often, vice police reported that the tolerated prostitute identified by a soldier had already been examined, found to be infected, and sent to the venereal disease section of the local hospital. Individual soldiers were sometimes proactive in tracking down those women, not all of them prostitutes, whom they considered responsible for their infections.[95]

It is no surprise that soldiers could not necessarily identify the prostitutes whom they considered responsible for infecting them. Soldiers were not always sober when they had sexual relations, and they sometimes frequented more than one prostitute; neither brothels nor streets were well lit. A clandestine prostitute had no reason to identify herself to a client, and many brothel prostitutes used nicknames with clients.

As elsewhere, vice police registered many of the young women who worked in cafés, inns, and taverns, had them examined, and placed them under surveillance regimes similar to those of tolerated prostitutes.[96] Vice police agents Anton Budziak and Alexander Olinik had some latitude concerning the treatment of those they believed to be practicing clandestine prostitution. The two registered and subjected many of the working-class girls and women they stopped to medical examinations. Reflecting class assumptions about who were irredeemable prostitutes and who might reform, they let off some—young, often still living with one or both parents, literate, and from petit bourgeois families—with a warning about the dire consequences of leading an "immoral life" and the threat of registration as prostitutes if they failed to "reform," that is, if they were again found to be engaging in commercial sex. The two men interviewed parents, some of whom denied knowing what their daughters were up to, while others defended their daughters, insisting they were not prostitutes. Several men who were separated from their wives asserted they were not involved in their daughters' upbringings. At least one promised that if he could not ensure the proper raising of his daughter, who lived with her mother, "with whom he was incompatible," he would contact foster care.[97]

Czernowitz vice police sometimes prevailed upon young women who came to their attention to report on one another's sexual behavior. There is no explanation in the records as to how vice police became interested in seventeen-year-old Leontine K., nor why they questioned her acquaintance Elisabeth K. in late spring 1918. The latter alleged in an interview with the police from her bed in the regional hospital that Leontine K. had had sex with a lieutenant in her presence. (Records do not indicate why Elisabeth K. had been hospitalized.) The officer later claimed that Leontine had infected him with gonorrhea. Elisabeth K. also reported that

[94] DAChO, DPMC, 10/1/1461 (1918), doc. 27.

[95] DAChO, DPMC, 10/1/1290 (1917), docs. 39–43; and ZAO, Policejní ředitelství Moravská Ostrava (hereafter PŘMO), sign. 227, Box 159.

[96] DAChO, DPMC, 10/1/1462 (1918), Protokoll (August 9, 1918).

[97] DAChO, DPMC, 10/1/1460 (1918), doc. 24, Interview with Mathias E., spring 1918.

Leontine K. had had sexual relations with yet another lieutenant at Czernowitz's Hotel Imperial. Leontine K., she concluded, was practicing prostitution.

A third young woman, Eugenia D., told police that both Elisabeth K. and Leontine K. "spent time" with officers. Eugenia D. explained that Leontine K. had told her about ten days earlier that she—Leontine K.—had gonorrhea, whereupon Eugenia D. had urged her to go to the hospital for treatment. Fearing her mother's wrath, Leontine K. had, however, kept her illness secret. About the same time, according to Eugenia D., Elisabeth K. and Leontine K. had come to her house because they wanted to have sexual intercourse with two officers. Eugenia D. claimed to have "shown them the door," whereupon the two girls went to an unnamed village for three days with the men. Eugenia D. asserted that Leontine K., but not Elisabeth K., was practicing prostitution.

Interviewed on 12 July 1918, Leontine K. admitted knowing Elisabeth K. and Eugenia D. She explained that she and Elisabeth K. had gone to a village with a lieutenant a few months earlier, where "we drank wine and he took my virginity. We spent the night there." Although the officer paid her 150 crowns, Leontine K. claimed that she did not have venereal disease and was not a prostitute. She knew if she led an "immoral life" and practiced prostitution, she would be severely punished. The police also spoke to Leontine K.'s mother, who promised to make sure her daughter, about whose sexual activities she claimed to have had no idea, led an "upright life" in the future. Later that month, Leontine K. was confirmed to have venereal disease, but does not appear to have been registered as a prostitute.[98]

As elsewhere in the Monarchy, women found to have venereal disease were sent to Czernowitz's local hospital for treatment and usually obliged to remain there until their symptoms abated. There was some flexibility in treatment, especially if the infected were neither tolerated prostitutes nor deemed by the authorities to be leading immoral lives. A police report from late April 1918 details the situation of a twenty-three-year-old soldier's wife who had had sexual relations with another soldier the previous winter, and got syphilis as a result. She had begun hospital treatment three months earlier, but left the hospital to care for her children. When the woman resumed treatment it was on an ambulatory basis, permitting her to remain at home.[99]

Although the records indicate that many of the women under vice police control underwent regular examinations, registration did not guarantee their appearance for the required weekly, biweekly, or even triweekly examinations. The records are full of police-physician reports of tolerated prostitutes who missed their appointments for many reasons, most commonly because they were menstruating, but also because they were ill or arrived late. In some cases, failure to appear for a physician's appointment indicated that the woman in question had not only skipped her appointment, but that she had also skipped town, a criminal offense—one that often resulted in a flurry of correspondence among police stations in an attempt to track her down. This effort typically failed.

[98] DAChO, DPMC, 10/1/1461 (1918), docs. 14–19, beginning 11 June 1918.
[99] DAChO, DPMC, 10/1/1465 (1918), doc. 42, 27 April 1918.

DENUNCIATION, SOCIAL DECAY, AND MORAL TURPITUDE

Denunciation of women and others who appeared to have stepped outside sexual norms increased during wartime. It was among the kinds of unsanctioned information that flowed freely among the civilian population. Letters to the police, and sometimes to the military, linked the population at large to the state's ongoing project of surveillance, which had been heightened under the conditions of total war. Despite their personal agendas, the letter-writers could claim to be speaking for the public good by aiding in the tracking down of "enemies of the state."[100] Husbands denounced their wives, civilian and military men denounced women, women denounced other women, and groups of people denounced individual women. Some civilians claimed to be protecting soldiers from "infection and exploitation" when they reported as suspect women they saw in the company of soldiers, especially in "questionable" circumstances, such as in hotels or nightspots. On occasion, their acquaintances and even their own friends informed on these women. Both signed and anonymous denunciations could result in women being subjected to police medical examinations as clandestine prostitutes. If a woman were found to have venereal disease, she was forced to remain in the hospital for treatment until she was deemed cured, and then often registered as a prostitute. The men whose company these women kept, especially soldiers, appear by and large to have escaped denunciation, in part reflecting continuing tolerance of male sexual "needs."

Some women in Austria-Hungary were suspected of espionage when their moral transgressions were conflated with perceived political transgressions. Although many of those investigated had engaged in prostitution, police less often turned up evidence of spying. In a pre-emptive and punitive strike against possible treachery, two young sisters from Galicia, who lived in Oderberg, Silesia, the strategic railroad junction between Berlin and Vienna, were held "for an extended period" on suspicion of espionage. In late January 1915, the mayor's office in nearby Bielitz informed police enquiring from Mährisch Ostrau that there was no evidence that the two were spies. They were rather clandestine prostitutes who had had paid sex with soldiers, he laconically remarked.[101] In the Austrian Littoral, where the imperial government was concerned about its Italian-speaking citizens' loyalty, women might be denounced on both moral and political grounds during wartime. Although it was primarily men who were accused by authorities of "Republicanism," "Garibaldianism," and "suspicion of espionage," so, too, were women. Some of them were detained, interned, or even expelled to the refugee camp in Leibnitz, Styria, for being prostitutes and for having "politically questionable" opinions, reflecting the Habsburg practice of interning criminals and political

[100] On wartime denunciation and letter-writing, see Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire*, 23–4; 154.

[101] ZAO, PŘMO, sign. 227, Box 159, telegram, handwritten report, and letter from Bürgermeisteramt der Stadt Bielitz to Polizeikommissariat in M. Ostrau, 23 January 1915.

opposition together.[102] Other women, unmarried but living with men whose politics were "suspect," were associated with both loose morals and the same suspect politics as their partners. They, too, were sent to camps. These examples underscore all women's lack of power and the virtually exclusive focus on the male perspective during wartime.

Habsburg authorities arrested ever larger numbers of women from broader social categories as complaints about female moral turpitude in Austria increased during the war. Especially in the war's final year, civilians regularly participated in the Habsburg state's system of surveillance. They denounced particular women, sometimes helping police, who detained women caught in their nighttime and early morning raids on hotels in cities throughout Austria. The women arrested included those caught *in flagrante* with men they did not know; women who had allegedly just had sexual intercourse with men they did not know, who had already left the premises; and women who were with men whom they had just met and with whom they were apparently planning to have sex. Among those police detained in Vienna were unemployed young women, often unskilled laborers, many of whom had descended on the Imperial capital in the last days of the war.[103] The men—among them, military officers—with whom these young women were discovered sometimes sought to help them by claiming that the women were not recent acquaintances, but rather, the men's betrothed. The arresting police dismissed these efforts with the comment that they gave the impression of being "untruthful." There were no legal repercussions for the soldiers: their names do not appear in the police records, because only military police could search out soldiers.[104]

When soldiers harassed "good" women on the street during the war, it was often other women—identified as prostitutes—not the soldiers, whom the denouncers scapegoated. Property owners in one Olmütz neighborhood complained to the city council in March 1916 that a soldier had insulted and attacked one young female resident, tearing her coat. They claimed that it was impossible to walk down the street in their neighborhood after six o'clock in the evening. These complainants, like the anonymous denouncers, blamed local prostitutes for the indignities inflicted on "good women" in the quarter, rather than holding the soldiers accountable for their own behavior.[105]

In contrast to the military's preoccupation with venereal disease, some civilians were more concerned with the implications increased prostitution and prostitute-soldier relations posed for public morals. The relationship between economic need and prostitution also attracted comment. From the beginning of the war, both

[102] AST, DP, Atti: Riservati Pol I 390, 1319/1916; NÖLA, Präs. P, Box 709, 3274 Xa and 3275 Xa, 1916.

[103] Vice police also picked up young women who were not the subject of denunciations, among them teenagers as young as fourteen years old, some of whom might still live at home with their parents. They arrested some of them repeatedly, as was the case with nineteen-year-old Wilhelmine L. of Vienna, who was seized twice in one week in late September 1918, sentenced to three days' arrest, and then expelled from the capital. LPDW, PM, 1918/1 and 1918/2.

[104] LPDW, PM, 1917, Referat, 22 December 1916.

[105] SOkAO, An den löblichen Gemeinderat der königl. Hauptstadt Olmütz, 28 March 1916.

military and civilian voices stressed the connection between hunger (morale) and prostitution (morals) on the home front. Protests in Trieste over lack of bread, and a steep rise in the prices of what little bread was available, started early in the war. As Rodolfo Kaiser wrote from Trieste to Francesco Ulrich in St Pölten (Lower Austria) in November 1915, one could see prostitution expanding, at the same time as one saw many emaciated faces because of the food shortage that had begun the previous summer. This situation only worsened as the war dragged on. In a confidential report based on censored correspondence, Oskar Thalberg sympathetically reported in June 1917 that "from Trieste came the repeated message that need had driven many women and girls into the arms of prostitution."[106]

Other Habsburg residents who commented on the deterioration of wartime society that clandestine prostitutes represented were also sympathetic. They held the state responsible for the situation. An anonymous official from Bielitz, who signed his letter "One who still has his heart in the right place," wrote the Ministry of Interior in October 1917 about women from the "better" classes whose husbands could no longer support them. He was distressed that the wives of state employees, even high-level employees, were resorting to clandestine prostitution because their husbands' salaries were no longer sufficient to support their families. The official's concern lay in the possibility that these women might be taken to court and exposed in public.[107] His letter, while implicitly blaming the state for these women's economic position, also provides a partial explanation for the behavior of some of the straw widows that so concerned the military. Still others wrote with sympathy of the wives and mothers with husbands at the front, who turned to sex for money, sacrificing "their pride and purity" for their hungry, ill children.[108] The narrative of wartime—and postwar—poverty driving bourgeois and other "good" women into prostitution continued in novels and film between the wars.[109]

Although the denouncers cooperated with police, they often had personal axes to grind, fueled by anger, jealousy, or malice. As Robert Gellately has written, denouncing "wrong doing" offered an excuse to call upon the "authorities" to intervene against an enemy or rival. Moreover, the punishments demanded were not necessarily designed to uphold the law, but rather to achieve the denouncer's particular personal aims.[110]

[106] AST, DP, 20 April 1915; and Vorfallenheitsenbericht; and KA, Evidenzbüro, Gemeinsame Zentralnachweisbüro, a [censored] letter of 2 November 1915: 3739, Res Nr 3282; and 3751, Res Nr 4647, "Stimmung und wirtschaftliche Lage der österreichischen Bevölkerung im Hinterland. Mai-Bericht," Oskar Thalberg [June 1917].

[107] ÖStA, MdI, AVA, MP, Box 2122, 1473/1917, letter, 10 October 1917.

[108] Potužák, Z *pamětí pražského detektiva*, 43.

[109] It was the subject of Hugo Bettauer's novel, *Die freudlose Gasse* (The Joyless Street), in hyperinflation era Vienna of the early 1920s. A poverty-stricken girl becomes a prostitute, while the daughter of a ruined former government official just escapes being forced into the trade. G.W. Pabst directed the silent film by the same name that appeared in 1925.

[110] Robert Gellately, "Denunciation as a Subject of Historical Research," *Historical Social Research* 26/2–3 (2001): 17. On wartime denunciation in the Monarchy, see Judson, "Denunciation and Food Riots as State Building from Below," in *The Habsburg Empire*, 394–407; more generally on

Reflecting the stress war could place on marriage, some soldier husbands denounced their wives. On 6 January 1917 the Viennese merchant Samuel Viola wrote to police in Prague that while he was serving on the Eastern Front, his wife, together with her lover, had "suddenly and secretly" left the family home in Vienna for Prague, where he alleged the couple was now staying in a hotel, perhaps even under assumed names. The aggrieved spouse requested that his estranged wife be expelled from Prague, not least because he, her legal husband, had not given her permission to travel there. Equating adultery with prostitution, he demanded that if his estranged wife had taken up "an immoral lifestyle," a police physician examine her for venereal disease. Viola further called for her to be severely punished if she were found to have been practicing clandestine prostitution. War, he concluded, was no excuse for adultery.[111]

Another case of denunciation reveals a soldier twice emasculated as a result of his military service. First, Nikolaj Prodancziuk was captured and held in a Russian prisoner-of-war camp. Upon his release he returned to home to Czernowitz, and on 8 May 1918 he informed police that his wife, Dominika, who had been stopped by vice police earlier that year, was leading an "immoral life." Rather than taking care of their children with the money he, her husband, gave her, she allegedly "drank it up" while their children went hungry. Indeed, Dominika kept company with soldiers. The last straw had been on Monday 6 May, when she and a friend (who, according to the husband, also led a very immoral life), brought two Hungarian soldiers into the family home although he, Nikolaj Prodancziuk, was resident there. The police physicians who examined Dominika found she did not have venereal disease. Dominka Prodancziuk's wartime sexual activities adumbrated her future as a tolerated prostitute in interwar Romania.[112]

Well-dressed women living on their own with no visible means of support were among those who attracted much attention during the war. For example, in 1918, one Egon B. denounced a woman he identified as Johanna S., known in some quarters of Vienna as "Nuschi." This "foreigner," he wrote, reflecting the widespread xenophobia of wartime, was a Polish woman in her twenties, living in central Vienna, who led a "conspicuous" lifestyle. She was unemployed but clandestinely practiced prostitution, he alleged. Because "Nuschi" had her own lodgings and knew how to conceal herself, police permitted the situation to continue, although, according to Egon B., she was as dangerous to property as she was to health. Claiming that his friends had lost a great deal of money to "Nuschi," the letter's author demanded that she be expelled from Vienna. If she were not expelled, he threatened, a letter would appear in an unnamed Viennese newspaper detailing how a person who had "absolutely no right" to live in Vienna under these conditions was tolerated. (It is unclear whether he meant conditions of wartime,

denunciation, see *The Journal of Modern History* 68/4, special issue, "Practices of Denunciation in Modern European History, 1789–1989" (December 1996).

[111] LPDW, Scha. St./27, File: Staats-u.sicherheitspol. Agenden, Jahrgang:1917 (Kriegsjahr). Präsidial-Akte, staatspol. Erhebungen.

[112] DAChO, DPMC, 10/1/1464 (1918), doc. 88.

or the woman's personal situation.) Any attempt on this woman's part to claim she had a "friend" or to being a dancer as a pretext for remaining in Vienna was simply incorrect. The police tracked down twenty-four-year-old Galician-born Franziska S., also known as Nuschi or Johanna S., held her for forty-eight hours, then sent her to the women's hospital in Meidling, where clandestine prostitutes were treated for venereal disease.[113]

While vice police believed that their coworkers sometimes functioned as pimps for women employed in cafés, hotels, and pensions, these coworkers also accused some women of being clandestine prostitutes. In July 1918, Marer Horus, porter at Czernowitz's Hotel National, denounced a chambermaid to the police who came to inspect the premises. During the three months he had been employed there, Horus had noticed that the maid sometimes stayed "quite a long time" in the rooms of hotel guests. He thought she was practicing prostitution. Horus claimed that hotel guests had told him they had had sexual relations with the woman, who, he complained, remained employed at the hotel.[114]

These denunciations reflected concern about the social upheaval that accompanied the war. Part of a "protracted and socially devastating war" that Austrian civilians waged against one another, they incorporated long-held class, gender, and ethnic prejudices against women who appeared outside social control.[115] While letter-writers exhibited concern for bourgeois wives and daughters whom the wartime economy might have forced out of their respectable femininity and into prostitution, there was little such sympathy for working-class women. Moreover, when cuckold Viola accused his unfaithful wife of leading an "immoral" life, he also proposed a solution: he demanded that her out-of-control body be turned over to the police for examination, because he equated her behavior with prostitution. The denunciations demonstrated participation in the Habsburg model of wartime social control, including a willingness to appropriate it for personal ends.

KLOTILDE BARAN: WHO IS A PROSTITUTE?

The wartime tale of Galician resident Klotilde Baran, who was just nineteen years old when she came to the attention of the Lemberg police in 1916, weaves together a number of strands in the narrative of wartime prostitution and home-front morality. It unfolds in cafés, dance halls, and hotels, where so many illicit wartime trysts occurred; includes the movement of a young woman close to the Eastern Front and into occupied Russian Poland; and involves issues of loyalty and espionage, criminal behavior, surveillance and denunciation, alleged prostitution, criminal behavior, venereal disease, and casual sexual relationships between military officers and women to whom they were not married. Equating immorality with lack of loyalty, authorities were interested in both Baran's sexual behavior and her

[113] LPDW, PM, 1918/1, k.k. Polizeidirektion, Abt.: Sittenamt from Egon B., n.d.
[114] DAChO, DPMC, 10/1/1461 (1918), doc. 123, 19 July 1918.
[115] Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire*, dustjacket.

politics. This case also reveals just how careful police remained about branding a young bourgeois woman a prostitute, even during wartime.[116]

Trained as a stenographer and typist in Vienna, and then as a bookkeeper in Cracow, Baran had even before the war demonstrated "loose" morals. She was treated for venereal disease in Cracow's St. Lazarus hospital ("Over Easter, I had a casual affair with some officer who fell ill with syphilis . . .") in spring 1914. That May she left the hospital after a few days, disappearing from the city. Baran was briefly in Cracow that August, before leaving, only to return in September 1915 to enroll in a three-month bookkeeping course.

Where had Baran been in the meantime and what had she been doing? According to her 3 October 1916 interview with Lemberg police, upon leaving the Cracow hospital at the end of May 1914, and having at her disposition some money from the syphilis-infected lover, Baran had come to Lemberg. There she joined a cabaret, long considered a source of prostitutes, under an assumed name, "Klotylda Tarnowska," the surname being a well-known, aristocratic family name in Galicia. This was the same name she used when "registering at hotels," an indication, not elaborated upon, that she engaged in casual, if not commercial, sex. Baran remained with the Lemberg cabaret until late August 1914, when she returned to Cracow. That same month, Cracow's Senior Police Commissioner called her in to see her papers, which were, according to her, "spotless." Baran then left for Vienna, she claimed, one day before the Russian invasion. Soon after her arrival in the imperial capital, Baran met another soldier, whom she accompanied to southern Moravia, registering, she claimed, under her own name. She had rejoined her mother and sister in Vienna by February 1915. While her family returned to their home in Bochnia, near Cracow, late that July, Baran remained in the imperial capital through early September in order to complete her stenography course, before returning to the family home, where she stayed only a few days before going on to Cracow.

Viennese police informed their colleagues in Lemberg that they had no negative information on Baran. The numerous love letters, visitor cards from officers and men of position, postcards stamped at different military outposts, and a prescription written on 28 October 1916 by a Lemberg dermatologist, in her possession, now in her file in the L'viv State Regional Archives, indicate an active social-sexual life in the imperial capital and elsewhere during wartime. This material also indicates the interest Baran had aroused among Lemberg police officials.

When an ardent admirer in Vienna wrote to suggest a meeting at Café Josephinum on Währingerstrasse the following day, 8 May 1915, he reminded her not to forget a photograph of herself nor the garter she had promised him. In early June, he wrote to ask her to meet him on 3 June, at three o'clock in the afternoon at the same café, pleading "Please be sure to come, and don't forget the silk stockings!" He wrote again on 19 June upon his return from southern Styria:

[116] The material about Klotilde Baran is in her file in the DALO, Dyrektsiia politsii u L'vovi, Fond 350, opys 1 4303.

> Why don't you let me hear from you? Don't you love me anymore? Or do you have so much to do before the examination that you have no time? You can't be mad at me, you have no reason! My sweet love, Klaudy, I think about you all the time and want to see you again soon! Shall we meet tomorrow, Saturday, 19 June? . . . I was again not fit for the military, so can stay in Vienna! Are you looking forward a little to seeing me? From now on, we can be together more often; I'll have more time than before! Yes? Please, please! I always want to be a good, dear friend, and the only love you have!
>
> I am excited to see you again on Saturday; I can hardly wait! And if the weather is bad, we can go to the Prater in the evening for a concert!
>
> Or would you rather go to the movies? See you tomorrow!
>
> Meanwhile, many cordial greetings and hot sweet kisses.

The besotted man continued to write Baran after she had returned to Galicia, where she completed her bookkeeping course in late 1915. Soon afterward, she met merchant Arthur Schindler. Taking up Schindler's offer of employment, Baran joined him in Lublin, Habsburg-occupied Russian Poland, where she lived with him. According to Lublin authorities, she had wanted to marry him. On 14 February 1916 Schindler, together with a second man, was arrested for fraud, and Baran was suspected of complicity, which is probably how she came to the attention of the Lemberg police. Baran was released and expelled from Lublin while Schindler was imprisoned at the Lemberg garrison. The two reunited after Schindler's release, but soon separated, she with 800 crowns that he had given her.

Baran provided no explanation as to her whereabouts during the summer of 1916, but hotel records reveal her to have been in Cracow sporadically before she turned up in Brünn. Local police claimed that she spent from 20 July to 23 August in the Moravian capital with *Rechnungsunteroffizier* (accounting officer) Josef Krypiakiewicz. A member of Infantry Regiment No. 45 based in the fortress-town Przemyśl, he had been working at the Brünn *Monturdepot*, a facility where military uniforms were stored. Krypiakiewicz, with whom Baran was regularly seen, had registered a woman as his wife at the hotel where he was staying. The woman was not his wife. Although local police could not verify where Baran stayed because she had been not registered anywhere in the city, reflecting a breakdown in home-front order, they did report that she had spent much of her time with enlisted men. The police believed she accompanied Krypiakiewicz when he returned to Przemyśl. Like police in Cracow, they assumed Baran probably engaged in clandestine prostitution, although they had nothing to say about her politics, the second issue that interested Lemberg police, presumably because of her association with officers and her movements, often near the Eastern Front.

We next hear of Baran in September 1916, when she was engaged to play with a band at Przemyśl's Kawiarnia Europejska, where she remained for six days until the café closed. The bandleader and his sister both asserted that Baran led an "immoral life," but police again found nothing amiss about her political opinions. Baran stopped in Lemberg before going to Gawłow, the village about 50 kilometers east of Cracow, where she had legal residence and which she stressed was boring. That is why she returned to Lemberg on 3 September, whereupon she was immediately

arrested. Lemberg police instructed Gawłow police to undertake a thorough investigation of Baran, owing to her "earlier immoral life," even when she was still at school.

Klotilde Baran came from a middle-class family, was educated, spoke several languages, and was obviously attractive to men. Like many other men and women of the time, she also had venereal disease. While police officials in Lemberg appear to have been interested in both her sexual activity and possible subversive, even treasonous behavior/politics, she had not been placed under police supervision for the former and nothing negative could be concluded about the latter. The police expended some of their ever more stretched resources to track her movements over the previous two years. They contacted officials in Bochnia, Brünn, Cracow, Gawłow, Przemyśl, Lublin, and Vienna. Had Baran engaged in commercial sex? In her first interview, she describes a "casual affair with an officer," indicating a personal rather than a business relationship. Although she sometimes took money from men with whom she had sexual relationships, there is no indication that she considered herself a prostitute, although others certainly did. She may simply have represented a case of changing morals, especially during wartime. By late October 1916, because Baran lacked proper papers and could provide neither a reason for being in Lemberg nor proof of income, and because they deemed her "harmful to public and private security," Lemberg police expelled her. She was to be transported by train to Gawłow.

There the documentation ends. Baran embodied a series of Habsburg wartime fears that were often gendered female: espionage, clandestine prostitution, and venereal disease. It is unclear what happened to Beran, why she merited her own archival file, or why it has survived Habsburg, Polish, German, Soviet, and now Ukrainian rule.

CONCLUSION

The Imperial government's inability to track and limit prostitutes—and women thought to be engaging in prostitution—despite the employment of extensive police work, often using creative methods, is an under-analyzed element of the devastating effect of the Great War on Austria-Hungary. Military-civilian didactic efforts vis-à-vis prostitutes and their prospective soldier-clients; the use of informants, some of them perhaps unwilling; and even the mobilization of brothel owners and prostitutes themselves, were of limited use in an era of total war. The increasing number of women police arrested reflects the contingency of prostitution in a time of social upheaval. There were fewer physicians available to administer examinations to registered prostitutes and the larger number of other women who came into contact with the "system," and fewer police available to maintain public order among a more

transient population. Despite growing attention to the venereal health of the military rank and file, and, in some cases, working men, the state's focus remained overwhelmingly on women as the source of VD. Ineffective in military terms, this joint surveillance, occupation, even, of some female bodies constituted an additional intrusion into the lives of a particular class of women during wartime.

Map 5. Habsburg Central Europe, circa 1923.

Epilogue

> Following the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy
> the newborn States eagerly sought to destroy the traditional administrative apparatus. Under the heading of "Entwienerung,"
> they have sought to revolutionize the state and social order
> in 'South Slavia' [The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes],
> Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.
> Only one thing has not changed: the nightlife.
> This remains the Viennese model.
>
> Wolfgang Sorge, *Die Geschichte der Prostitution*[1]

In matters of morality, Austria-Hungary's defeat in the First World War did not constitute a decisive break with the past, but rather a juncture in long-term historical processes. The Central Powers' loss meant the end of the Habsburg Monarchy, but not of its administrative and juridical apparatus, some of which continued to function well into the interwar era, and even beyond, incorporated into the various successor states' legal systems (see Map 5).[2] Bureaucratic transition did not necessarily parallel political transition, so there was no dramatic change in the regulation of prostitution—or the treatment of prostitutes and women assumed to be prostitutes—in the so-called nation-states created from the defunct multinational Monarchy beginning in late autumn 1918. Indeed, most legislation changed regulation only piecemeal in the first chaotic months and years after the war, sometimes as part of new laws aimed at combating venereal disease. They incorporated various forms of control, which reflected society's attitudes about sexuality, particularly female. Changes in sexual behavior and morality that had in any case begun before 1914 persisted and deepened.[3] Some officials continued to consider tolerated prostitutes a necessary evil.

[1] "Nach dem Zerfall der Österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie haben die neugeborenen Staaten sich eifrigst bemüht, den überkommenen Verwaltungsapparat zu zerstrümmern und unter dem Schlagwort der Entwienerung hat man in südslawien, Ungarn, Polen und der Tschechoslowakei die Staatliche und gesellschaftliche Ordnung zu revolutionieren gesucht. Nur an einem hat man nicht gerührt: dem nachtleben. Das ist alles noch nach Wiener Muster geblieben. Wolfgang Sorge, *Die Geschichte der Prostitution* (Berlin: Verlag Dr. Potthof & Co., 1919), 431.

[2] See Maura Hametz on maintaining regional liberties in formerly Habsburg regions to smooth transition to Italian sovereignty in *Making Trieste Italian, 1918–1954* (Rochester, NY: Royal Historical Society, Boydell Press, 2005), 18–19.

[3] On male sexual behavior before the war, see for example discussion of a survey of male university students in Brünn, J. Moudrá, "Otázka stejné morálky," *Ženský svět*, 20 May 1914, 13; for comments on changing morals during wartime, including sexual excesses and venereal disease rates among male

Even as the war slowly wound down and the Monarchy was dissolved, Austrian—and formerly Austrian—civilians continued to denounce one another for immoral behavior, while successor-state officials continued to employ the same methods to stem clandestine prostitution that the Habsburg police and military had used during wartime. Across the Monarchy, police, sometimes joined by the military, persisted in raiding inns, hotels, and taverns, and arresting women and girls—many young and unemployed, and some without the right of residence—whom they caught *in flagrante*, having them examined for venereal disease, and obliging those who were infected to report to the hospital immediately for treatment. Viennese vice police continued to inspect that city's brothels through at least July 1919.[4] While they might arrest the hotel porters and others alleged to have pandered these women, for the most part police still left their male partners (both civilians and soldiers, some of them now members of the Entente armies) to go free. The numbers of women arrested for clandestine prostitution skyrocketed after 1918. On average, 617 women had been arrested annually in Vienna for clandestine prostitution in the last five years before the war, 860 annually during the war, but 2,530 annually in the first five postwar years.[5] In autumn 1919, however, Vienna's clandestine prostitutes might earn one hundred crowns (about $6.00) per trick, reflecting the hyperinflation that was beginning to grip much of Habsburg Central Europe, complicated in Austria by a lack of grain and other foodstuffs. By December of that year, a loaf of "smelly, mouldy bread" cost fifty crowns, and a kilogram of butter 200 crowns.[6] Women whose sexual behavior offended propriety might still be expelled from a town or province, but now the expulsions were across national as well as district and provincial borders.[7]

The rules governing regulation initially remained virtually the same in many post-Habsburg regions. Clandestine and regulated prostitution continued to be an option among the female working class in the first postwar years. One Viennese police report from 1920 shows that the percentage of regulated prostitutes had increased by 29.6 percent since 1918, reflecting the poverty that resulted from wartime dislocation and postwar inflation as well as the loss of empire. Women

students, as well as very young girls becoming pregnant, see AdR, BMfsV, Volksgesundheit/Präs, 1918, Österreichische Gesellschaft für Schulhygiene, Hohes k.k. Ministerium, 5 August 1918.

[4] See reports in LPDW, PM, 1914/2.

[5] Marie-Thérèse Nisot, *La question eugénique dans les divers pays*, vol. 2 (Brussels: Libraire Falk Fils, 1929), 91. See also LPDW, PM, 1918/1 and 1919, which contain documents dated as late as 1920. According to J.C. Brunner, *Illustrierte Sittengeschichte. Krieg und Geschlechtsleben* (Frankfurt: Delius, 1922), 91, among 2,374 women arrested for clandestine prostitution in Vienna in 1919, 804 were underage; on numbers of women arrested for clandestine prostitution in Vienna, see Franz Exner, *Krieg und Kriminalität in Österreich* (Vienna: Carnegie-Stiftung für Internationalen Frieden, 1927), 163. On complaints about female staff engaging in clandestine commercial sex in Cernăuți (formerly Czernowitz) hotels, DAChO, DPMC, 3/1/1462, doc. 51.

[6] From a Viennese vice police report on an 11 October 1919 raid, LPDW, PM, 1919; for rising bread prices, see for example *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 1 January 1919, 9; *Fremden-Blatt*, 16 January 1919, 6; *Volksblatt für Stadt und Land*, 7 December 1919, 3. On "mouldy bread" and other food prices see Charles S. Chiu, *Women in the Shadows: Mileva Einstein-Marić, Margarete Jeanne Trakl, Lise Meitner, Milena Jesenská, and Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky*, trans. Edith Borchardt (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 133.

[7] For example, the prostitute repatriated to Galicia on a *Heimkehrerzug* (returnee train) on 27 July 1919, DAChO, DPMC, 10/1/1468 (1918), doc. 64, 15 October 1919.

registering with the vice police—and arrested for clandestine prostitution—in the war's wake included larger numbers of skilled workers and women with higher positions who were not considered part of the working class, among them dental assistants and nurses.[8]

In northern Bohemian Liberec (formerly Reichenberg, now part of Czechoslovakia) prostitutes continued to be subjected to twice-weekly examinations. If women seized for clandestine prostitution were found to have VD, vice police still compelled their treatment at the city's St. Stefan hospital. Across northern Bohemia, women who claimed they were not prostitutes were still forcibly placed under vice police medical supervision. City fathers in Podmokly, formerly Tetschen, considered placing *Animiermädchen* under vice police control in autumn 1920, while Liberec vice police enforced gynecological examinations for the sixty local women who were employed as barmaids in that city the following January. Czechoslovak officials continued to administer physical examinations to "suspect" women elsewhere in Bohemia.[9]

There were attempts in some municipalities to close brothels after 1918 for reasons other than morality. Local authorities in both Graz and Liberec sought to transform them into housing to help alleviate the mass shortage in the wake of the war. A Styrian provincial ordinance permitted municipalities to close brothels under such conditions. In Graz, the attempt resulted in a raucous public protest in early December 1919 by keepers of these establishments, which had numbered fifteen at the end of the previous year, and some of their prostitute residents.[10] In Liberec, their owners initially rejected as illegal the proposal, which originated with the city housing inspector, for compensation for closing the nine brothels. In language recalling prewar rhetoric, at least one raised the specter of increased rates of venereal disease. In the end, their owners accepted compensation and the brothels were closed.[11]

Tolerated brothels remained open in the enlarged, postwar Kingdom of Romania. In Czernowitz, now Cernăuți, having become part of Romania at the war's end, the same vice police employed the same German-language Habsburg forms and practices to find and arrest clandestine prostitutes as well as to register, observe, and control regulated prostitutes.[12] These documents were not translated into Romanian until the early 1920s. There was wide-ranging debate in the interwar era between abolitionists and reformists over prostitution; venereal disease, which spread greatly after the war; and the health of the nation. The most important voices in these debates were the eugenicists, whose focus was primarily on the inter-generational costs of such sexual practices and the attendant diseases to the

[8] *Wiener Montags-Journal*, 14 June 1920, 3.

[9] SOkAD, Fond: Městký úřad Podmokly, Spisy, Bürgermeister to the Bürgermeisteramt, October 29, 1920 (year uncertain); and SOkAL, Magistrát města Liberce, G 1904–1907, Band I, Bordellwesen Regelung, Záložní nemocnice v Liberci.

[10] *Arbeiterwille*, 4 December 1919, 7.

[11] SOkAL, AML, Box 7, Bordelwesen, correspondence between August 1920 and May 1921; *Arbeiterwille*, 4 December 1919, 7; and Johann Ude, *Die Kulturschande Europas vor dem Schwurgericht* (Graz: Österreichs Völkerwacht, 1920), 16.

[12] For example, the cashier in Cernăuți's Hotel Metropole who clandestinely engaged in commercial sex, DAChO, DPMC, 3/1/1462, doc. 51, 10 November 1920, "Meldung Czernowitz."

health of the nation as whole. In the 1920s the eugenicist camp was overwhelmingly pro-regulation, arguing that men's sexuality was genetically predisposed towards multiple sexual partners and that prostitution provided a necessary outlet for this need, a necessary evil. They also represented women who engaged in sex work as suffering from socially induced weaknesses, and therefore, with medical oversight and economic support, they could be moved to find other ways of making a living or possibly marrying, and thus return to respectable life. Romania would partially abolish brothel-based regulated prostitution only in 1930.[13]

PROSTITUTION AND THE MILITARY

Military intervention into prostitution, which persisted into the early interwar era in some successor states, represents an important historical continuity with the Monarchy. Civilian-military collaboration on the surveillance of prostitutes and women suspected of being prostitutes continued because the governments were concerned about the restoration and maintenance of bourgeois social order in the wake of war and, sometimes, revolution.

The Czechoslovak military, like the Habsburg military before it, was obsessed with venereal disease. And like the Habsburg-era police raids, Czechoslovak police raids continued to target as clandestine prostitutes those working-class women "lounging" in coffeehouses and pubs. Police in Czechoslovakia continued to employ the wartime methods of the Habsburg police and military. They, too, raided hotels, arrested the women they caught practicing clandestine prostitution, had them examined for venereal disease, and made those who were infected go to the hospital for treatment. Thus, some women who claimed they were not prostitutes were still placed under vice police supervision. Both the cooperation of the military and police in identifying, arresting, and forcibly testing women suspected of being prostitutes following the war and the continuing focus on the prostitute as the source of venereal disease demonstrate continuities between the Monarchy and the First Republic. At the behest of Czechoslovakia's central government in Prague, the garrison and the political administration in Liberec cooperated on a vice-police inspection of local brothels. The team included a military doctor, a garrison representative, and the head of the military police. The commission's military members were to focus especially on general hygienic conditions.[14] The inspection was an example of the postwar attempts to regain control of the bodies of women who had stepped outside assigned gender roles, irrespective of how the new states regulated prostitution or whether they later abolished it altogether.

[13] See Maria Bucur, *Eugenics and Modernization in Interwar Romania* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2002), 148–50; and Józef Macko, *Prostytucja* (Warsaw: Nakładem Polskiego Komitetu Walki z Handlem Kobietami i Dziećmi, 1927), 125.

[14] SOkAL, Magistrát města Liberce, G 1904–1907, Band I Bordellwesen Regelung, Záložní nemocnice v Liberci.

In November 1918 the Italian army entered Trieste, which, together with much of the Austrian Littoral and a small part of Dalmatia, would become part of postwar Italy. A report that month to the Venezia Giulia provincial government's health office that was part of a larger Italian postwar analysis of the relationship between prostitution and venereal disease in Trieste, in which brothels were evaluated in terms of hygiene, cleanliness, and supervision, mirrors assumptions about the necessity of regulated prostitutes for the military. The November 1918 report noted that the number of operating brothels in the city, which housed three to sixteen women, had dropped to twenty at the war's end. This reflected the relatively limited number of clients during four years of mobilization of most able-bodied men. Although the Triestine brothels could house a total of 200 women, the report noted that only 130 women, "mainly Hungarians and Slavs," lived in them. The author criticized several brothels, which had already been in bad condition before the war, for lack of cleanliness, running water, toilets, or sufficient light, as well as for having rooms that were too small. Some brothels could be brought up to standard, he wrote, but others should be promptly shuttered. In December 1918, five brothels were ordered closed immediately.

Brothel keepers and prospective brothel keepers soon requested to open/reopen the brothels under Italian auspices. Permission to reopen was often contingent on bringing the brothels up to hygienic and safety standards, including installing electric or gas lighting and running water, as well as sometimes even redecorating them. For example, the forty-three-year-old Moravian-born former prostitute Rosa Kmínek, who had lived in Trieste since 1912, sought, but was denied, permission to reopen the brothel at Via San Filippo, 6. Like the brothel next door, it had been slated for closing in late 1918 because it did not meet governmental hygienic requirements—the house at Via San Filippo, 6 had latrines, but lacked running water. Kmínek later took possession of a brothel elsewhere in the city.[15]

Owing to the continued presence of Italian troops in the New Provinces, the author of the 1918 report proposed to open brothels to serve the military, even brothels meant solely for the military. He recommended the ten-bedroom brothel at Via del Sale, 8, "perhaps the best of the brothels" for use by military officers, and one of the largest of them, a sixteen-room establishment located on Via Altana, for the troops. There were applications to open brothels for the military elsewhere in the New Provinces, like the application that December in Gorizia for a brothel suitable for the exclusive use of military officers. A similar request the following March to open a brothel in Rovigno, a town of close to 11,000 people on the Adriatic (today, in Croatia), in a building designed for such use was couched in the same terms that had been employed in imperial Austria: "morality" and "decency," as well as hygiene and preventing clandestine prostitution. As during Habsburg rule, the brothel was a "necessity," because a large number of troops were stationed there. In April 1921, officials in Capodistria, just south of Trieste, debated the utility of opening that city's first brothel.[16]

[15] Borut Klabjan, *Češkoslovaška na Jadranu. Čehi in Slovaki ter njihove povezave s Trstom in Primorsko od začetka 20. stoletja do druge svetovne vojne* (Koper: Založba Annales, 2007), 187.

[16] Pokrajnski arhiv Koper, Si PAK KP 7, Box 382, Doc. 1791, 23 April 1921.

Similar to many of the nascent or expanding states that grew up in the space of the former Habsburg Monarchy, in Italy vice police (Section III of the Police) surveillance of clandestine prostitution continued in the immediate postwar period, which in Trieste was carried out with "zeal and profit." Triestine vice police continued to apprehend women suspected of practicing clandestine prostitution in bars, cafés, and restaurants. In December 1919, Dr. Marziani, the physician in charge of the prevention of venereal disease, informed the health section of the *Commissariato Generale Civile* (General Civilian Commission) that police had subjected an average of one hundred women monthly to medical examinations and sent most of them to the hospital because they suffered from venereal disease.[17] The language of Marziani's report, dated after the return to civilian government, that women were still being examined because they were "suspected" of clandestine prostitution and "sent" to the hospital, indicates that their treatment with respect to medical examinations reflected coercive imperial Austrian practices rather than more liberal neo-regulatory practices of voluntary treatment in place elsewhere in Italy. Not only Triestine vice police, but police in the New Provinces continued to focus on clandestine prostitutes, who had been the source of so much concern during the war. Idria, 56 kilometers northeast of Trieste, located in contemporary western Slovenia, was home to the biggest mercury mine in Europe and large numbers of immigrant laborers. It is perhaps no surprise that one of the local police guard, who had also been employed under the Habsburg Monarchy, compiled for the new Italian authorities a list of thirty-four women in that city and surrounding areas thought to be practicing clandestine prostitution. Police reports from Pola show that they regularly arrested large numbers of young women and girls, most from the city or elsewhere in Istria, for "reasons of morality," that is, clandestine prostitution, and obliged those with venereal disease to be hospitalized for treatment, until well into the mid-1920s.[18]

PROSTITUTION AND VENEREAL DISEASE

Austria and the successor states would during the 1920s adopt varied solutions to the vexed problem of prostitution. The differing responses owed in part to prewar experiences of the enlarged and reconstituted states to which the lands of the former Monarchy were annexed: Italy, Poland, Romania, and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, later Yugoslavia, formed around the former Kingdom of Serbia. Successor-state governments and their vice police evinced similar concerns about prostitutes as the source of venereal disease as had their Habsburg predecessors. This was in part the result of continuity in attitudes toward class, gender, and sexuality, and to the increasingly national-racial rhetoric that set prostitutes apart as

[17] AST, file Commissariato generale civile per la Venezia Giulia (hereafter CGCVG), Atti di Gabinetto, Marziani, 20 December 1919.

[18] Državni arhiv u Pazinu, Općina Pula, Prefektura, Box 45 (1927).

Other in Austria-Hungary. The successor-state governments drew upon Austria-Hungary's wartime experiences in the connections they made among public hygiene, prostitution, venereal disease, and military strength. It was commonly accepted that the experience of the war had demonstrated that VD was spread primarily through extramarital relations—"from the rendezvous of sexual irregularity to the home"—and prostitutes were still popularly condemned as the main culprits.[19] The rates of disease with which prostitutes remained so intimately associated had increased during wartime, and did not drop immediately with the resumption of peace. In Prague, the number of prostitutes and other women with venereal disease whom the police delivered to the hospital peaked in 1916 before dropping to 1915 levels only in 1921.[20] Syphilis and gonorrhea both continued to pose challenges to public health. The former continued to be blamed for stillbirths and the latter for causing blindness and sterility; both were thus a threat to future generations.

The Austrian government promulgated new public-administrative, preventative measures regarding venereal disease in a 21 November 1918 decree. The gender-neutral document required all those suffering from venereal disease to take responsibility for their own treatment and sexual behavior. It did not, however, force the closing of tolerated brothels. Vienna shuttered its five remaining brothels in 1921, while Graz's brothels were closed only in 1924, achieving a goal long sought by local abolitionists.[21] The continuity of local Habsburg practices, however, meant that some twenty-eight brothels remained throughout the Austrian Republic six years after the war's end.[22]

Elsewhere, the solutions to prostitution were sometimes subsumed under the pressing issue of eradication of venereal disease. In the postwar years, abolitionist and neo-regulationist voices dominated in the nascent First Czechoslovak Republic, where women, no longer incipient citizens dependent on male family members, gained political voice. Many shared the long-held view of Czechoslovak president Tomáš G. Masaryk and the reformers around the abolitionist women's journal, *Ženský svět*, that prostitution was an abomination that society needed to eradicate.[23] Following an early, failed attempt to close the country's brothels led by abolitionist National Socialist deputies Luisa Landová-Štychová and Fráňa Zemínová in September 1919, the parliament followed the "democratic" route and passed Law No. 241, *O potírání pohlavních nemocí* (Combating sexually transmitted diseases), on 11 July 1922. This law closed the country's 406 brothels and abolished the

[19] Walter Clarke, "Venereal Diseases: A Challenge to the Red Cross," *Bulletin of the League of Red Cross Societies* (October 1920–December 1921): 176.

[20] According to Potužák, the rates were: 1915: 461; 1916: 1,838; 1917: 1,055; 1918: 699; 1919: 750; 1920: 533; 1921: 450; 1922: 529; 1923: 335; 1924: 505; and 1925: 400, *Z pamětí pražského detektiva*, 42.

[21] Macko, *Prostytycja*, 124; and *Wiener Montags-Journal*, 13 March 1922, 3.

[22] Macko, *Prostytucja*, 124.

[23] According to physician and publicist Antonín Wiesner, there were 305 brothels in Bohemia, forty-five in Moravia, eleven in Silesia, forty-four in Slovakia, and one in Subcarpathian Rus in 1920, cited in Lenderová, *Chytila patrola*, 91. Masaryk articulated his views in *Mnohoženství a jednoženství* (Prague: V komisi knihkupectví Jaroslava Pospíšila, 1899).

regulatory system for reasons of morals and public hygiene. Section II of the law abolished the existing system of brothels and all elements of regulated prostitution, including pandering, police supervision, and health books for prostitutes. Under the new law prostitution was not punishable unless it caused "public scandal." Continuing practices developed in late imperial Austria, especially during wartime, the law criminalized endangering the health of others by both men and women through the spreading of venereal disease, but employed gender-neutral language. While the law sought to ameliorate the more egregious medical practices vis-à-vis tolerated prostitutes in Austria, some postwar medical examinations of prostitutes appear to have been as invasive as those in the Monarchy. Infected persons who rejected treatment might still be taken to the hospital for compulsory treatment and those who "willfully" discontinued treatment might be subjected to a medical examination, but physicians were forbidden to tender their services for treating venereal disease in an intrusive manner.[24]

Czechoslovakia's new venereal disease law quickly came under fire. Brothel owners were loath to lose their valuable economic property, while other critics noted that brothels continued to exist but were simply no longer regulated. They accurately predicted that the new law would prove no more able do away with prostitution than the regulatory system it had replaced. Prostitutes were still to be found in bars, night cafés, movie houses, and the like, especially in the country's larger cities, industrial centers, and spa towns, where a culture of commercial sex had long existed. Moreover, the new law failed to achieve its goal of limiting the spread of venereal disease.[25]

In contrast to abolition in Czechoslovakia, after much parliamentary discussion, Poland adopted a neo-regulationist system designed to rationalize state regulation of prostitution by shifting responsibility for medical oversight of prostitutes from the police to physicians. Regulated Polish prostitutes remained subject to obligatory registration and medical inspection. In January 1919 the new Ministry of Public Health took responsibility for managing venereal disease and prostitution. At the same time, the Ministry of Internal Affairs officially placed the vice police under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Health, thus eliminating the police monopoly over regulation of prostitution. Medical authorities now controlled testing and treatment facilities, and the medical community bore the primary responsibility for inspecting prostitutes. There were sanitary-hygiene commissions in cities that conducted the health inspections of registered prostitutes. These mixed committees comprised physicians and police, and, after 1925, policewomen. The latter were

[24] NA, Fond Společnost pro potírání chorob pohlavních, Praha, (hereafter SPPCHP), Box 4, Professor Karol Gawalowski of Charles University, "The Campaign against Venereal Disease in the Czechoslovakian Republic" (1921).

[25] On failings of the law, see for example Deutsche Gesellschaft zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten i. d. tschsl. Rep., Ortsgruppe Aussig to Bezirksbehörde 26 Oct 1937; May 1940 surveys of the twenty-five prostitutes in Aussig, now part of Nazi Germany's Sudetengau, describe a number of them as "long-time" sex workers, one since at least 1929, many of whom had gonorrhea or syphilis or both; Archiv Města Ústí nad Labem (hereafter AMÚL), Okrensí úřad, Box 157; and Box 933, Erhebungsblätter für gewerbsm. Prostituierte (Stand Mai 1940 derzeit 25 Prost.).

also responsible for finding clandestine prostitutes and bringing them and registered prostitutes to physicians for examination.[26]

Although the Slovenian provincial government closed its brothels on 1 March 1919, Austrian criminal legislation remained valid there until 1 January 1930, when Yugoslavia's more modern legal system came into practice.[27] The Yugoslav system dealt with international trafficking, panderers, and prostitutes, but there was still no prosecution of prostitutes' male clients. The government passed a law to combat venereal disease, which it noted was endemic, on 12 October 1920. Paragraph 20 of the law placed prostitutes under the surveillance of physicians in special hospital units. Thus, registration was abolished and police arrested a prostitute only when she was the subject of a complaint for having infected someone with venereal disease.[28]

The issue of how to treat most effectively and limit venereal disease remained of concern during the interwar era and through the Second World War. In 1932, the general assembly of the Union Internationale contre le Péril Vénérien (International Union against Venereal Diseases), headquartered in Paris, issued a broad international survey comparing the results of the voluntary treatment system and the system of compulsory treatment of venereal diseases. Although many national governments had expanded their scope to include infectious males, the female prostitute remained the primary focus of the questionnaire.[29]

INTERWAR PANICS? JEWS, PROSTITUTION, RACE, AND TRAFFICKING

The way that the two moral panics so closely associated with prostitution in late imperial Austria—white slave trafficking and venereal disease—were treated in the postwar period was quite different. Austria's borders had been watched even before 1914, and transoceanic travel had virtually ceased among the belligerents during the war years. The issue of trafficking in women, which had received little attention during wartime, re-emerged. It was re-examined and re-named ("women and children") in the changed socio-political conditions of the interwar period. Trafficking remained an issue of considerable popular interest, as the two-part Weimar-German film *Der Weg, der zur Verdammnis führt* (The Way to Damnation) demonstrated. One of the most successful of the moral-educational silent films that appeared in the early postwar period, part two, *Hyänen der Lust* (Hyenas of

[26] See Keely Stauter-Halsted, *The Devil's Chain: Prostitution and Social Control in Partitioned Poland* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), Chapter 10, "Sex in the New Republic," 311–36; and David Petruccelli, "Pimps, Prostitutes, and Policewomen: The Polish Women Police and the International Campaign against the Traffic in Women and Children between the Wars," *Contemporary European History* 24/3 (August 2015): 333–50.

[27] Branka Grošelj, "Prostitucija v Ljubljani v prvih treh desetletjih 20. stoletja," *Kronika* 54/3 (2006), 455.

[28] Grošelj, "Prostitucija v Ljubljani," 464; Macko, *Prostytucja*, 263.

[29] NA, SPPCHP, Union Internationale contre le Péril Vénérien in Paris correspondence with branches in Czechoslovakia, 1933.

Lust) premiered in Vienna and Prague in autumn 1919.[30] The Liga, which continued to exist during the interwar period, sponsored the film's Viennese run. Most countries of Habsburg Central Europe passed restrictive emigration laws during the 1920s. However, the issue of female agency remained unresolved. Rather than being trafficked, a stream of prostitutes left Poland of their own volition for brothels abroad because of the economic situation of the 1930s. While in Czechoslovakia periodic concerns were raised about "gangs of traffickers," their ethnicity went unmentioned.

Pre-1914 tropes about the role of Jews in the broader world of commercial sex continued into the interwar era. Especially in Poland, there remained the sense that Jews dominated trafficking. This contributed to a tendency to conceive of the Polish nation along ethnic lines that explicitly excluded Jews.[31]

Some of the assertions about Regine Riehl and Antonie Pollak that had been published in contemporary anti-Semitic newspapers reappeared in more virulent form some thirty years later in *Der Jude als Verbrecher* (The Jew as criminal), which appeared in 1937. Two Nazi "experts" on the "Jewish Question," Josef Keller and Hanns Andersen, wrote the book, with then-Gauleiter Julius Streicher contributing the foreword. The authors discuss Riehl and Pollak in Chapter Seven, "Kuppler und Mädchenhändler" (panderer and white slaver), when they note the large percentage of Jewish pimps and white slavers in their discussion of Jews striving for the upper levels of the "criminal demimonde" in their lust for "money and power." They describe Pollak in stereotypical anti-Semitic terms as an old hunchbacked sadist who delighted in hearing girls scream and groan. According to the authors, Pollak was in her element in the brothel, because exploiting defenseless victims was the classic occupation of not only the male, but also the female Jew.[32]

The language that the Habsburg Monarchy's medical community, the military, government officials, and the public had used during the First World War about the consequences of diseased, *foreign* women's bodies for the state continued after 1918. This was in part the result of continued focus in the successor states on prostitution as the sole cause of the large number of soldiers who had contracted venereal disease during wartime. Their governments enacted stringent measures against the deliberate spreading of venereal disease. Reflecting the presumed connection between prostitution and venereal disease, new measures on prostitution were often subsumed under laws on venereal disease, which was becoming ever more closely connected with concerns about the health of the nation or race.

Eugenics became a more dominant discourse in Habsburg Central Europe between the wars, but drew in significant ways on prewar and wartime understandings and practices. The connections among public hygiene, sometimes analyzed in terms of "racial health," prostitution, venereal disease, and military strength continued to be

[30] *Neue Kino-Rundschau* 132 (13 September 1919): 73. The film was also meant to run in Graz, but police had it pulled after jeering protesters interrupted its showing, 156 (28 February 1920): 7.

[31] Petruccelli, "Pimps, Prostitutes, and Policewomen," 340.

[32] Josef Keller and Hanns Andersen, *Der Jude als Verbrecher* (Berlin: Nibelungen-Verlag, 1937), 120–3, especially 123.

made after the war's end. Italian officials revealed national-racial assumptions and prejudices when in late January 1919 they required that former Habsburg soldiers returning to the New Provinces from "infected countries" (Russia, Poland, and the like) be placed under "intensified supervision" at the stations being opened along the borders in order to prevent these men from bringing disease "back into the family."[33] Although according to Karin Jušek, such eugenic arguments had not played a significant role in prewar Austrian prostitution debates,[34] the emphasis on racial degeneration became more pronounced in Austria and some of the multinational successor states, which were, by and large, governed as nation-states between the wars. Ernst Finger, who was still the president of the Society for the Prevention of Venereal Disease, also revealed national-racial assumptions when he spoke in May 1919 of the social significance of the struggle against venereal disease with which the prostitute remained intimately associated. Employing terms common to eugenics discourse, he described its serious aftereffects not only for the individual but also for society in terms of the "loss of national wealth" and "the reduction and deterioration of the race."[35]

Those with venereal disease were increasingly regarded as potential enemies of the state in the racially saturated sexual politics of the interwar era. In the nationally mixed successor states, the prostitute—and the brothel keeper—could be both a sexual and a racial outlier. As Maria Bucur has written, after 1918, an ethnically Hungarian prostitute in nationally mixed Transylvania was viewed as a eugenic threat to ethnic Romanian men, while an ethnic Romanian prostitute posed a dysgenic threat only if she actually infected a Romanian man with venereal disease.[36] When Giovanna Sopotnich appealed the closing of her Via Pescheria, 7 brothel in Trieste because she had allegedly violated police regulations, her perceived racial/ethnic infractions received as much attention as her moral ones. Not only was her husband alleged to have spent the night in the brothel and the prostitutes she employed to have used cocaine and provided it to clients, she was also described as "having Slavic sentiments and being opposed to the [Italian] regime," and accused of banking all her earnings in Yugoslavia.[37]

The increasing nationalization of identity would have important implications not only for prostitutes, but also for any suspect woman who was allegedly *leichtsinnig* or *arbeitsscheu*. Such identities might have earned her the designation "asocial" and a stint in reform school or expulsion from a district or a region in much of late imperial Austria. While prostitution laws had changed in much of Habsburg Central Europe, popular attitudes about what kind of women sold sex,

[33] AST, Atti di Gabinetto, file CGCVG, Intendenza Generale, Commissione Ispettiva di profilassi, 30 January 1919.

[34] Karin J. Jušek, *Auf der Suche nach der Verlorenen: Die Prostitutionsdebatten im Wien in der Jahrhundertwende* (Vienna: Löcker Verlag, 1994), 136.

[35] Ernst Finger, "Die soziale Bedeutung und die Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten," *Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift* (1919): 1069.

[36] Maria Bucur, "Fallen Women and Necessary Evils: Eugenic Representations of Prostitutes in Interwar Romania," in Marius Turda and Paul J. Weindling, eds., *Blood and Homeland: Eugenics and Racial Nationalism in Central and Southeast Europe, 1900–1940* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2007), 337–8, 349, n. 16.

[37] AST, PT, Gabinetto (1923–1952), 72 G. I thank Maura Hametz for this information.

developed over decades, had not. During the Nazi era, such a designation could cause far more serious repercussions because women—especially those who escaped social control and were caught selling their bodies for sex—still remained outside, and were even excluded from, society.[38]

The public attention to prostitution that began in the aftermath of the Riehl trial continued in many of the Habsburg successor states—anxiety about venereal disease and public hygiene, trafficking, public morals—yet with a modern inflection. Middle-class, often female social reformers had more political power in the interwar "democracies," and were able to accomplish change they had only been able to dream about at the turn of the century. Finally, the scientific turn in understanding race and nation infected professional thinking about both the regulation of commercial sex and the women who engaged in it.

[38] See AMÚL, Box 933, Erhebungsblätter für gewerbsm. Prostituierte (Stand Mai 1940 derzeit 25 Prost.), report from 29 May1940 in which a prostitute is described as "known to the health officials as an asocial person." See also Elizabeth D. Heineman, *What Difference Does a Husband Make? Women and Marital Status in Nazi and Postwar Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 26–30, on the classification of prostitutes and "work shy" individuals as "asocial" in Nazi Germany and their punitive treatment; also Victoria Harris, "The Role of the Concentration Camps in the Nazi Repression of Prostitutes, 1933–9," *Journal of Contemporary History* 45/3 (July 2010): 676–7; and Annette F. Timm, "Sex with a Purpose: Prostitution, Venereal Disease, and Militarized Masculinity in the Third Reich," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 11/1–2, Special Issue: Sexuality and German Fascism (January–April 2002): 224.

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Reichenberger Zeitung
Triester Tagblatt
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Wiek Nowy
Wiener Caricaturen
Wiener Kriminal- und Detektiv-Zeitung
Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift
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